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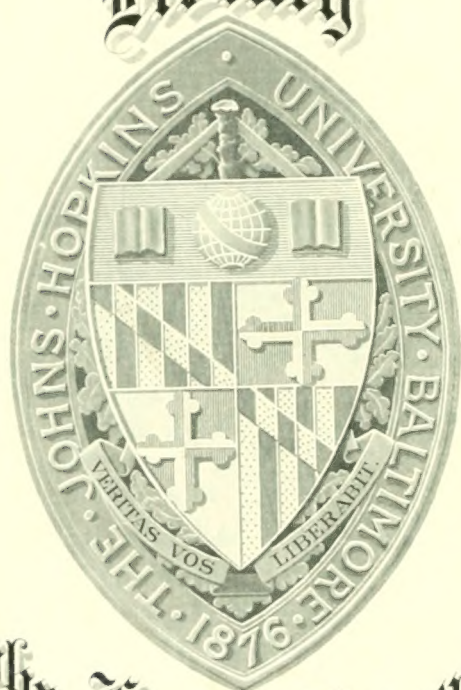


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Haggai

A Dissertation

submitted to the Board of University
Studies of the Johns Hopkins University,
in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1918

by

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Restoration of Hebrew Text		

Haggai^x

I

Let not the Temple lie in Ruins!

1, 1 In the second year of King Darius¹,
on the first day of the sixth month², came
JHVH's word through³ the prophet⁴ Haggai, as
follows: Say⁵ to the governor of Judah,
Zerubbabel⁵ ben-Shealtiel and to the high-
priest Joshua⁶ ben-Jhozadak as follows:

i 2 Thus said JHVH^x These people say,
"The time is not come⁷ to build JHVH's house."

4 ⁸Is it time for yourselves to dwell under⁹ cover?⁸

ii 7 ⁹Consider now⁸, how ye have fared!⁹

¹⁰9a Ye looked for much,¹¹ and lo! it is little¹²;
What ye brought home, I blew upon it.¹³

iii 9b Why is that so? says JHVH Sabaoth.

On account of My House¹⁴ which lies in ruins,¹⁵

While ye are running for your own houses.¹⁶

^x Translation based upon the restoration of the Hebrew Text, presented in the Old Testament Seminary of Johns Hopkins University in 1914.

10 Therefore the heavens withheld their dew⁸

11 I called a drought¹⁰ on land and mountains,
And on the grain, and the new wine¹¹.

12 Go up to the mountain¹² and cut down timber¹³,
And build the House! then I'll show My glory¹⁴.

¹³ I am with you, says JHVH Sabaoth.

14 I have gathered of Israel > Jerubbaal, Shealtiel, and the high-priest, Joshua, Ben-
ho:adak, and all the remnant²⁵ of the
people handed to the eyes of the Lord,
14 JHVH, and the people remained JHVH. I am
with you in the spirit of the promise of
peace, Jerubbaal and Joshua and Ben-
ho:adak and all the remnant²⁵ of the
people so that
they may be in the House of the
Lord, JHVH Sabaoth.

(x) 1, 2 Sabaoth, as follows. (1) 3 JHVH's word came
through the prophet Haggai as follows:

(Y) 4 your houses (d) ⁽³⁰⁾ while this House is in ruins:

(E) ⁽³¹⁾ 5 And now thus said JHVH Sabaoth:

Consider now, how ye have fared;

6 Ye have sown much and brought in little;

ye ate but not enough, ^{ye had clothing but were not warm}

and they ^{the} ~~learned~~ ^{the} ~~wages~~ into a bag full of holes.

(L) 7 Thus said JHVH Sabaoth (y) 10 and the earth
withheld its produce (0) against you

(1) 11 the (K) on the (1) ⁽³²⁾ and on the oil and on
all that the ground brings forth, and on
meat and on beasts, and on all handiwork.

(u) 8 said JHVH. (v) 13 JHVH's messenger, Haggai
said in JHVH's message to the people as follows:

(B) 12 that is, to the words of the prophet Haggai
which were in accordance with what
their God JHVH had caused him to deliver
to them.

(oo) 6 Ye drank but had not enough (TT) ye carried

II ¹

Zerubbabel is My Chosen One.

1, 15 ¹⁵ On the twenty fourth day of the sixth month ¹⁵ in the second year of King Darius;

2, 20 ²⁰ said JHVH's word to Haggai as follows;

21 ²¹ I am shaking ²¹ heaven and ²¹ earth;

22 ²² I shall upset the great kingdom's throne.

I shall destroy all the strength of the heathen;

I shall wreck their chariots and riders.

Subdued will be horsemen and footmen,

each falling by the sword of his brother.

²² But I'll take thee ²², My servant, Zerubbabel ²².

and place thee as a king on My right hand.

(u) 2, 20 ¹⁵ a second time (s) on the twenty fourth of the month

(r) 21 ²⁰ Said to the governor of Judah, Zerubbabel, as follows;

(i) the (recess) (r) the (recess) (S) 22 of the great kingdom

(r) 23 ²⁰ at that time, says JHVH Sabaoth. (O) how I shall

(i) says JHVH (K) for thee have I chosen, says JHVH Sabaoth.

III

Be not dismayed!

2.1

In the seventh month on the twenty-
first day of the month ² word came
through the prophet Haggai as follows:

2

Say to the governors of Judah Zerubbabel
Ben-Shealtiel and to the high priest Jechia
Ben-Jehozadak and to all the remnant
of the people as follows:

i. 3 ⁴ Who is left among you that saw with his eyes
This House of God in its former glory?
What do ye see now in its place?
Is not its appearance like naught in your eyes?

ii. Now Take thou courage O Zerubbabel!
And all ye people! says JWH Eubaoth.
{Take courage} and work! for I am with you;
My spirit abides among you; fear not!

iii 6 After a little I shall shake up
 Heaven and Earth and Sea and dryland.
 7 I'll destroy the nations and treasure in well conceals.
 iv 8 Mine is the silver¹¹ and mine is the gold.
 9 Yea, great will be the Temple's glory.
 And in this place I'll give prosperity.

- (x) 2, 4 says JHVH (1) Take courage, O high-priest Joshua
 ben-Jehozadak (v) says JHVH Sabaoth
 (8) 5 The word which I pledged to you when you
 came forth from Egypt (E) 6 for thus said
 JHVH Sabaoth (L) the (same) (q) the (Heaven) (9) the (Heaven)
 (1) 6 the (accus.) (K) 7 all (K) from all the nations,
 and I shall fill this Temple with glory.
 said JHVH Sabaoth (u) 8 says JHVH Sabaoth
 (v) 9 this, future (L) above the past, said JHVH
 Sabaoth (o) says JHVH Sabaoth

IV

A little Religion is not Sufficient.

2, 10 On the twenty^{first} day of the month
in the second year of Darius, JHVH¹ would
come to the prophet Haggai as follows:

11 Thus said JHVH Sabaoth, God⁴ the Lord
for instruction⁵ as follows:

i 12 If a man should carry holy flesh in his garment
And touch with the skirt some bread, or pottage,
Or wine, or oil, or any kind of food,
Would that become holy? They will say, No.

ii 13 But if you touch a corpse, and then any of these,
Would they be unclean? The priests will say, Yes.

iii 14 So it is with these people before me,
declares JHVH Sabaoth.

And so it is with their handiwork;
what they offer there is unclean.

iv 15 Consider now (the time)¹⁰

from this day going backward,

¹²Ere stone was joined to stone

in the Temple,⁴ how did ye fare then?

v 16 ¹³Ye would come to a heap¹⁴ of twenty
and lo! there were but ten.

When ye came to draw fifty measures

from a vat, there were but twenty.¹⁵

vi 18 ¹⁴The time from the day¹⁶ when was founded
the Temple,¹¹ now consider!

19 Is the seed-grain yet¹⁷ in the barn¹⁵?

are the grape-vines yet¹⁸ in bearing?

(α) 2, 12 the ¹⁹shin of (β) the (γ) the (δ) the (ε) the ²⁰first of
the month (ζ) 13 and Haggai said

(η) 14 ²¹and Haggai began and said (θ) So it is with
this nation²³ and (ι) 15 of JNH (κ) 16 to the wine-press

(λ) 17 ²²I smite you with blight, and with
mildew, and with hail²⁴, yet ye did not
come to Me, says JNH (μ) 18 Consider now

- from this day going backward^{pp/} (v) of JHVH
- (E) 19 and the figs and the pomegranates and the olive trees. (c) from this day I will bless
-
- (177) 17 all your handiwork. (pp) 18²⁸ from the twenty-fourth day in the ninth month.

V ¹

Be Steadfast! Conditions Same. Ch.

- i 3c 8.9 Thus JHVH^v said, ^vBe steadfast,
ye² who listen^v to all these words! ^v
- 10 ^vThere was no hire for man,³
nor was there hire for beast;
He who went or came was not safe,⁸
I set ye² against one another.
-
- 11.12 But now^o the seed is thriving,
The heavens will yield their dew,
The vine will yield its fruits,
The land will yield^v its crop. ^v

13 ~~They~~^{It} were a curse [§] among the nations []

but ye will be a blessing, Fear not!

iii ⁹ A jealous God am I

but show mercy to those who obey me?

14 ^E/I planned to do you harm

when your father provoked me to wrath.

15 I've planned again to benefit

The nation of Judah¹¹; Fear not!

16 ^TSpeak!! friendly to each other!

judge^v truly in your courts!

17 And evil against his neighbor,

think none of you in your hearts.

Love not lying oaths,

for all these are things ∇ I hate ∇ .

(a) δ, γ Subnote (3) *fourth* (7) *in those days*

(d) from the march of the prophets who came on
the day that the house of JHVA Sabaoth was found-
ed, the Temple to be built. (E) 10 before those days

(2) 10 from the advantage (9) money man

- (g) 11 Turn not to the remnant of this people as in
former days says JHVH Sabaoth (i) 12 because
(k) 12 I will cause the remnant of this people to
possess all these things
(l) 13 and it shall come to pass that as
(u) the Jewish and the Samaritan nations, so shall
I help you (v) let your hands be strong
(z) 14 For thus said JHVH Sabaoth, the
(o) Lord said JHVH Sabaoth and I repented not
(-) 15 These (p) in those days (r) Jerusalem and
(T) 16 these are the things which you shall do
(v) truly and justly (f) 17 which (x) says JHVH

VI¹

Turn your Fasts into Feasts!

- Ze. I, 1 I have said in the year of the fast
2 the fourth of the ninth month², Bethel-shah³
3 sent a ro. a herald⁴ in his name⁵ to the
6 priests⁶ to⁷ the house of JHVH Sabaoth
7 I have said I will be to you as a
8 I will be to you as a

my people, as I have done for so many years

8:18 ² The word of JHVH Sabaoth came to me as follows

19 (1) The fast of the fifth month and the fast of the fourth,
The fast of the seventh¹⁰ and the fast of the tenth,¹²
Shall be for Judah now joy and gladness.⁸

20 (2) Say (to the priests) and to all the people; (1)

When ye fasted and mourned, in the fifth and the seventh,
~~These ye only fasted~~ did ye fast? ^{for it is?}

And when ye eat, or when ye drink,

Is it not you that eat and drink?

(3) Speak words of peace and love ye truth.

(4) 7, 1 JHVH's word came to Jeremiah (2) in Beth-lehem

(5) 2 to appease JHVH (6) 3 and the prophets

(7) 8, 19 thus said JHVH Sabaoth (8) the nation of

(9) that is, cheerful feasts

(10) 1, 4 The word of JHVH Sabaoth came to me as follows:

(11) 5 as follows (12) fasting (13) you that

Explanatory Notes

Nothing trustworthy has been found concerning the patriotic poet, Haggai, outside of the book that bears his name. The only other references to him in the Old Testament, in Ezra 5:1, 6:14, seem to be based upon information gained from his book. His name is found in the titles of Psalms 137 (138) and 145-149 (146-149) in the Septuagint; 125 f (126 f), 145-148 (146-148) in the Peshitto; 64 (65) in the Old Latin; 111 (112), 145 f (146 f) of the Vulgate. But this indicates nothing beyond a very general idea that he was associated in the minds of later readers, with the Temple Service where these Psalms were used.

All the prophecies which bear his name are dated in the second year of the reign of Darius, 520 B.C. If we accept, and they

Haupt[†], the poem of Zech. 7:1-6 as coming from Haggai (see below, p.), he was still active in the fourth year of Darius, 518 B.C. In 2:21ff. he refers to the political upheavals that attended the opening years of the reign of Darius, and prophesies the success of Zerubbabel's rebellion. Hence he must have delivered this prophecy before the failure of Zerubbabel's attempt, in 519.

Ewald, André, Cornill, and others have sought to find in 2:3, the suggestion that Haggai had seen the former Temple before its destruction in 586 B.C. But this verse offers no conclusive proof that he had reached the advanced age that such a conjecture makes necessary. On the other hand, if Daiches' suggestion[†] is correct, of the Babylonian character of his name, it would be more

^x JBL, 32, 107

[†] OLZ II, col. 276 f. see below, p.

probable that he, like Zerubbabel, was born during the captivity.

His deep interest in the Temple construction, and his evident knowledge of the Law, (cf. 2:11ff) have lead Reuss and Andre' to follow the early Christian traditions which associated him with the priests. The tradition of the Jews, however, does not so regard him, and Marti further points out in his objection to the assumed priestly relationship of Haggai, that the poet was stimulated by the weighty historical circumstances of his time, and his expectations of the promised national prosperity for his people. These, and not thoughts of the Temple alone, impelled him to utter such a prophecy about Zerubbabel as is found in 2:21-23. It remains, therefore a matter of serious doubt, that he belonged to the priest

* cf. JBL 32, 108, n. 3.

There is as much, or more reason, to believe, that he came to Judah, as a layman, if not in the very first expedition, (he gives no indication that he knows of any attempt to build the Temple in these early years), then probably with some smaller group that followed from Babylonia in succeeding years. His zeal for the rebuilding of the Temple, and his hopes for the national independence of the Jews, do not seem to have wavered in the midst of the hardships and misfortunes, which so sadly affected others. In the political confusion that existed at the time of the accession of Darius, he believed that the opportunity was at hand for the realization of his hopes, so he set his face to arouse his fellow-countrymen to the propitiousness of the times.

Both the Jewish and early Christian commentators have recorded much about him.

that has no historical value. Tractate Baba-bathra, 15a, says, "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve, Daniel, Megilloth, Esther", and Rashi says, "The men of the Great Synagogue were Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, and their companions".[†] In Pirke Aboth we read, "Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi received from the prophets who were before them and transmitted it to the men of the Great Synagogue".[‡] Köhler (Nach. Prop. 6) also quotes from Abraham Hallevi ben-David in the Sepher ha-Kabbala of 1161: "The prophets transmitted it, the one to the other, generation after generation, until Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. The prophets transmitted

אנשי כנסת הגדולה כתבו יחזקאל ושנים עשר דניאל ומגלת

אסתר

אנשי כנסת הגדולה חגי זכריה ומלאכי זרובבל

ומרדכי וחבריהם

חגי זכריה ומלאכי קבלו מנביאים שלפניהם ומסרוה לאנשי[‡]

כנסת הגדולה

it to the men of the Great Synagogue". In Megilla 2b, Haggai is mentioned as the author of several ceremonial regulations, and with Zechariah and Malachi, as the ones who introduced into the alphabet of Hebrew letters, the terminal forms of the five elongated characters. In Megilla 3a, he appears as assisting Jonathan ben-Uzzel in the composition of his Targum on the prophets.

The early Christian traditions that cluster around the prophet give no more evidence of containing historical fact than the traditions of the Jews. Jerome[†], in commenting on the "messenger (Heb. mal'achai) of YHWH", of 1:13, says "Some think that both John the Baptist and Malachi, who is called Angel of the Lord, and Haggai whom we now have before us, were angels and

נביאים נוסדוה זה לזה דור אחר דור עד חגי זכריה ומלאכי:

נביאים מסדוה לאנשי כנסת הגדולה

[†] Dom. VI, col. 75, to Hag. 1:13.

by dispensation and command of God, assumed human bodies and associated among men".

Others declare that while still a young man, he came to Jerusalem from Babylon, prophesied the Return, and saw the building of the Temple at Jerusalem; that he died and was buried there with honors, near the priests. Hesychius speaks even more plainly of his priestly lineage and makes him of the tribe of Levi. In 'Eusebius', de vitis prophetarum, it is further added, that Haggai was the first to chant the Hallelujah in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The book that bears Haggai's name, is the tenth of the Minor Prophets. It contains, in the thirty eight verses of its two chapters, four groups of prophetic utterances (1:2-11; 2:3-9; 12-19; 21-23), each of which is preceded by an introductory statement (1:1; 2:14; 10f; 20), containing the date, the prophet's name, and in the

~~first~~ three instances, also the names of the people addressed. The first prophecy is also followed by a narrative statement (1:12, 14), of the effect produced by the preceding words of the poet. These narrative passages give the book an historical as well as a prophetic character. Rothstein considers it to be a purely historical composition concerning the building of the Temple. But as Marti rightly says, "it is a report about the addresses of the prophet, not a history of the building of the Temple. Three of the poems do, indeed, concern directly the rebuilding of the Temple, but that, in 2:20-23 has a political character and treats of Zerubbabel; the Temple is not mentioned."

That to Haggai, we must ascribe the most of the book, practically no one has disputed, although Jerome regarded him, together with Malachi, as the "Genealogy of King Jehoiachin, pp. 38-41"

"Dodekapropheten, p. 379"

John the Baptist, as an angel (see above, p. 15) and André holds that the name "Haggai" meaning feeling, is a byname of an anonymous prophet. However, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, and in accordance with the universal testimony of the Jewish and early Christian commentators, we may safely ascribe at least the poetical addresses, purged of such glossatorial elements as have crept into the text, to the poet who bore the name "Haggai" and who lived in Jerusalem in 520 B.C.

The narrative portions which introduce each poem, and the verses at the close of the first chapter (12, 14), seem to be of a later hand than Haggai's. ¹Suddé* distinguishes between the prophet and the author of these verses. Klosterman[†] thinks that the books of Haggai and Zech. 1-8, originally belonged to an account.

*ZAW 26, 1 ff

†GVI, p. 212 f

of the building of the Temple in the reign of Darius, arranged chronologically probably by Zechariah, but the same objections can be made to this as were cited above (p.) to the contrary. Robertson's view that the book is a purely historical composition. Mitchell* will say: "The Book of Haggai is his, only in the sense that it contains his extant prophecies. A friend or disciple of Haggai put his most striking utterances into nearly its present shape, shortly after the death of Haggai." Because of the resemblance of these narrative portions to similar passages in Zechariah (1:1, 7, 7:1) Ezra (1:1), Nehemiah (1:1, 2:1), they may with some degree of probability be assigned to the Chronicler, 350 B.C., to whom the compilation of Ezra and Nehemiah is usually ascribed. But if this is so, the Chronicler must have merely

* Haggai (I.C.C.) p 28

enlarged upon dates that were attached to each poem immediately after its utterance, and were thereafter associated with them.

Prof. Haupt believes that the governors of Jedah and the high-priest Joshua ben Jehozadak may be still later additions. See note 6 on I, below.

But two serious attacks have been attempted by modern critics upon the Haggaiian authorship of any of the four poetical sections of the book. The first of these, was made by Tregelles. In his work, se Prophetae Aggae (1893), he presented his conclusion that the discourse which is found in 2:10-19 must be assigned to another than Haggai, of whom we know nothing further. The chief reasons in his argument are these:

1. There is a logical sequence between the prophecies at the beginning and at the close of this chapter which vv. 10-19 interrupt.
2. The kind of view of the speaker in vv. 1-9 is that of a clerical theocrat

but 25:10-17 reveals a legalistic priest. (3) This fragment is addressed "to" Haggai, while the other prophecies are addressed to the chiefs and the people "through" the intermediary of the prophet. (4) There are disagreements between this portion and the other parts of the book, such as the difference in the dates in 1:15 and 2:18, and the difference in the cause to which the crop failures were assigned; 1:10 mentions droughts but 2:17 mentions effect of excessive dampness. (5) The vocabulary of 25:10-19 differs much from the rest of the book.[†]

* אֶל-חַגַּי

† בֵּית-חַגַּי

[‡] (a) H', for Temple uses ^{without exception} בֵּית, house, or בֵּית יְהוָה, YHWH's house

H², (2:10-19) without exception uses כָּל יְהוָה YHWH's sanctuary

(b) H' uses כָּל-יָגִיעַ כַּפַּיִם, H², כָּל-מַעֲשֵׂי-יָדַיִם, for all the works of the hands

(c) H' uses יֶצֶדֶק, H², שָׁלוֹן, for peace

(d) H' uses וַתִּירוֹשׁ, H², יַיִן, for wine

According to André, this portion was incorporated in the speeches of Haggai by the final redactor who had it and, realizing that it did not differ in its general spirit from the genuine addresses of the prophet, wished to (E) H' has the harvests brought ל ביתו home. H' uses

גרנריו, granary instead

(f) H' uses a word from the root לבוש, to be clothed;

H² employs the word בגד, garment.

g) H' always uses עם people for Israel, and גוים, nations for foreigners. H² makes use of both words for Israel.

(h) H' uses מפני; H², לפני for before

i) H' uses שימו לבבכם על דרכיכם; H², שימו לבבכם for Consider.

j) H' does not add עבאוד, Sabaoti to יהוה. Contrast H¹. (k) H' belongs to the superscription which is due to the hand of the redactor.

(l) H' always adds ^{the prophet} הנביא after the prophet's name, but the name stands alone in H² except in the superscription.

(m) H' speaks only of the High-Priest; H² mentions הכהנים, the priests.

(n) H' transmits the message of יהוה to the people through the prophet. ביד חזי. In H², the message is addressed by יהוה to the prophet himself, אני דני.

include it - among the prophecies bearing on the reconstruction of the Temple.

André's hypothesis is interesting but untenable. In spite of the similarity between 2:6 and 2:21, there is really no logical sequence between the poems represented by these two verses. They were uttered almost one month apart, and the words in 2:21-23 were delivered before those in 2:3-9. (See nn.(2)(3) to II, and n.(2) to III). The one is an encouragement to the builders of the Temple; the other is a political address to Zerubbabel. The passage in 2:10-19 therefore cannot constitute an interruption between them. (2) If we keep in mind the very real truth about the contagion of defilement of any kind, the figure which is found in 2:12-14, to enforce it, could conceivably arise in the mind of almost any Oriental, for such ideas prevail widely in the East. The mere mention of them does not offer sufficient grounds for the first

distinctions which under draws between
"clerical theocrat" and "priestly legalist". Also
the emphasis with which he sets forth the priestly
legalistic character of Haggai is not consistent
with the meager evidence at hand. 3) The difference
in the method of transmission of the divine message
is a difference that must be accredited to the
ideas of the author of the narrative portions.

Cf. also. n. on 38, in Critical Notes to 2:10 (7).

(4) The difference in the dates to which the founding
of the Temple is assigned in 2:18 and 1:15, denotes
nothing, for the date in 1:15 does not belong to
the preceding verse which tells of the first work
on the Temple, but must be combined with the date
in 2:20. See n. (2) to II. and the date in 2:18 is
from the hand of a tertiary glossator. See n. 25 to IV.
In 2:17 the words which are used to refer to
a grain blight which may be caused by excessive
moisture, are an illustrative quotation from Am 4:7
See n. 24) to IV. If these words are stricken out

This very serious difference from the "drought" mentioned in 1:10, 11 vanishes. (5) A great many of the differences in the vocabulary also disappear when the glosses are removed^{*}. In view of these

^{*}The following expressions upon which André depends, to show such differences in vocabulary may be considered as not belonging to the original poems. (Cf. Explanatory and Critical notes); כל-יגיע כפיים, הנביא, חגי, אל, ביד, מפני, לבוש, יצחק. Of the other differences cited by André, the use of דירוש in 1:11 suits the connection better than יין which is used in 2:12. The use of שימור לבבכם על-דרכיכם in 1:7 and the shorter שימור לבבכם in 2:15, is due to the requirements of the different meters which characterize the two poems. For similar reason צבאות must be added in 2:14; thus the distinction of the unaccompanied name of SHH disappears from 2:10-19.

The remainder have been duly considered by Mitchell and others but are neither numerous nor

objections to André's proposal, the Haggaiian authorship of 2:10-19 remains a matter of comparative certainty and is generally so recognized.

The only other one of the four prophecies in the book, which has been denied to Haggai, is the one now found in the concluding verses, 2:20-23. In 1887, Böhmé² disputed the genuineness of this portion on the following grounds: (1) the exceptional omission of the title ח'ג'ג'י, the prophet after Haggai's name in 2:20; (2) The use of ח'ג'ג'י, to Haggai, in 2:20 instead of the more usual ח'ג'ג'י, through Haggai; (3) The unnecessary repetition in 2:21 of the phrases, important enough to form the basis of a serious attempt to support André's hypothesis.

ZAW, 7, 215 ff.

He mentioned this only incidentally and explained it by assuming that by this time the prophet believed that he had designated himself sufficiently

"I am shaping heaven and earth", and "I will destroy (all the strength of) the heathen", which are found in 2:6, 7, and 2:21, 22. He supposes that Zerubbabel, to whom the words in 2:21-23 are addressed, had heard them before in the prophecy in 2:1-9. (4) The occurrence of שׁוֹמֵר , a second time, in 2:20 suggests the activity of a supplementer.

But Böhm's proposal to eliminate this prophecy from those uttered by Haggai can not be supported. His first, second, and fourth reasons cited above, concern words which are found in the superscription (v. 20) which undoubtedly was not written by Haggai. These three peculiarities can only indicate that a different hand inserted them than the one who composed the other narrative sections of the book. A closer comparison of the phrases in 2:6, 7 and 21, 22, will reveal less resemblance than at first

and they fall into an entirely different position in the poetical restoration of the text. It is also plain that the political upheaval which is referred to in these words, is mentioned in 2:6, 7 for the purpose of encouraging the progress in the work on the Temple, while in 2:21; 22, the poet uses them to incite the people to rebellion under Zerubbabel. Finally, as Marti questions, if this prophecy of the success that would attend a rebellion lead by Zerubbabel, did not arise from Haggai, or some one very close to him in time or spirit, what would lead a supplanter to add it to the book, since the prophecy was not fulfilled, the rebellion being quickly put down?

But, although the proposals of neither André nor Böhme can be supported by the evidence, and all four of the poems in the book are genuine, they were both correct in

me a very indefinite way, to the extent that they felt that the text had been disturbed.

Prof. Haupt has suggested that the poem which in the Received Text, now appears at the end of the book, and which breathes a spirit of revolution against the Persian supremacy, expressing the hope that in the midst of the longed-for overthrow of the Persian power, the Davidic Son, Zerubbabel, would restore the national independence of Judah's people, — that this poem originally concluded the first chapter. Verse 1:15 must be combined with verse 2:20 to provide the date of this deliverance. See n.(2) on II. Because of its revolutionary character, it was suppressed as the strength of the government of Persians increased. (cf. n.(1) to I). Afterwards, probably after the fall of the Persian Empire, it was.

JBL, 32, 113, below

appended at the end, possible, because it
substituted the same meter as the preceding
lines (see 11, 16, 18, 19), and also because it
formed a more appropriate conclusion just
as *Libanides* originally preceded *Ephraim*
but is now appended to them in order
to conclude the canon with the hopeful outlook
of 2 Chr. 36, 23.*

One other suggestion concerning the re-arrange-
ment of the text, needs only mention here. *Elliott*
in his *Eulogium*† says, "Nothstein has recently
convincingly shown that 2:15-19 (perhaps
also 2:10-19) belongs after the broken off verse,
1:15"‡

While with the elimination of minor glossa-
torial elements, it seems certain that all the
poems of the book are to be ascribed to *Tragge*.

* Cf. Grimm's Euphemistic Liturgical Appendices, p. 1.

† 2^d ed. Leipzig, 1914, p. 115

‡ *Juden und Samaritaner*, 1908

yet their extreme brevity and small number leave room to suppose that not all of his prophetic activity is recorded. A man who was so much on fire with the enthusiasm for the reconstruction of the Temple, and the rebellion of Zerubbabel, could hardly have confined his utterances to such a few words and few occasions, even though the period lasted but a few years, in which these movements grew. If it is correct that Zech. 7 and 8, contain poems of Haggai (see pp. below), it may also be probable that other addresses of this prophet have been entirely lost to us.

The brevity of his poems which have been preserved, has led some to believe that they represent merely summaries of what the poet said upon several occasions. Cf. e.g. Dickson, Hodder, J. A. Smith, Mitchell.

he appeared, but the poems, if brief, are pointed and striking and their poetical form would be a serious objection to expanding them into lengthier addresses.

The text of the Book is in a comparatively fair state of preservation. Mention has already been made p. of the misplaced position of the poem in 2:20-23. But a few words have fallen out and must be replaced: twelve in all, but quite a number of words and phrases have crept into the text, which have no place in the original. In the restoration of the text appended to these notes.

These glossatorial additions amount to about one third of the Received Text. The versions contain the usual number of departures and are valuable in the determination of what must be preserved as the original. The Critical Notes show the divergences in detail.

* 201 words out of 592

The prevailing opinion of the style of Haggai can best be shown by citing the comment of the leading critics. To Herzfeld, "Haggai is without force, poor in invention, dry"; De Hette thinks "the speeches themselves must have been still poorer than the painfully written lives". De Renan, it seems as if the prophetic "talents of intellectual and moral culture were mediocre. The writings of Haggai and Zechariah ***** make us believe that the organizers of the Return, carried few books with them. Any one without originality, reading old authors, could have composed something less feeble than these two rolls". Gesenius says that "he is feeble and insipid; all that he knows how to do is to reassemble at great difficulty, some old phrases. André finds that the phrasing is usually curt, not rich in words, nor abundant in expressions but is given to repetition of words.

and phrases; there is nothing poetical about its composition. Marti thinks that all of Haggai's ideas are easily derived from the fundamental thoughts of the reconstruction of the Temple, and approaching prosperity combined with Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies. "He belongs not to the original men who are able to judge the world situation from an inner illumination, but to their descendants on whom the light from the words of the earlier prophets, streams." To Reuss it seems that the prophet generally falls into the most colorless prose. Kautzsch, too, finds that "even in the more elevated passages, it does not go beyond the bounds of prose." Hölscher regards Haggai and Zechariah as the recurring vulgarizing of the Judean prophecy, after the

But others are more generous in their appreciation of the prophet's style. Brinner, for instance, says: "His style is not that of pure prose; his thoughts not infrequently shape themselves into parallel clauses, such as are usual in Hebrew poetry". And to Cornill, it seems that although Haggai does not rise above simple prose, nevertheless, he has something attractive and touching in his very simplicity. Köhler appreciates the oratorical character of Haggai's addresses, but contrasts it with the poetical form of the utterances of such prophets as Joel, Amos, Isaiah, & Hosea. G. A. Smith, at one place, refers to the prophet's "meagerness of words and their crabbed style", but at another place, says: "The style of the book is not wholly of the bare jejune prose which it is sometimes described to be; the passages of Haggai's own

exhortations are in the well known, parallel rhythm of prophetic discourse." And with Smith's opinion, Mitchell in general agrees.

Not in spite of the almost universal feeling that the book is prose, in which only a few commentators have caught even an occasional sign of poetical parallelism, Haggai's genuine words may be shown to exhibit a distinct meter. Sievers, it is true, has offered a reconstruction of the text according to a scheme, in which each line, not only of Haggai's own words but of the introductory passages as well, consists of two members. The first of these, in each line contains seven beats and the second, with characteristic license of the poetic style contains three or four beats according to pleasure. But his arrangement is far from satisfactory. Only

AT Miscellen, 6 bis 10 (1907) p. 63 ff.

Haggai's own words are poetical. The prosaic passages represent explanatory additions. The book contains four poems, each of which is preceded by a brief introductory statement in prose, and the first is followed by a prose narrative which is found at the close of the first chapter.

As can be seen from the restored text appended to these notes, the poem in the first chapter consists of five triplets in a measure of $2+2$ beats. (Hebrew poetry is accentual, and not quantitative). The second poem (2:20-23) which originally stood at the end of the first chapter, is a single quatrain of a meter of $3+3$ beats. The third poem, found in 2:1-9, is composed of two quatrains and two triplets, all in the meter of $2+2$ beats. Of the two poems in 2:10-19, which may have been delivered on the same day, the first con-

of a quatrain and a couplet of 2+2 beats, and in the second are four couplets of 3+3 beats.

The gloss in 1:5, 6 also contains a quatrain in 2+2 beats.

Of the two Haggaiar poems in Zech. 7 and 8, (see below, pp), the one in 7:9-17 contains four triplets of a meter, 3+3 beats, and the second, 8:19^a, 7:5, 6, 8:19^b, is formed in three triplets of 2+2 beats.

Forty-four lines of the genuine poems of Haggai are of a meter of 2+2 beats. But he also makes considerable use of the line of 3+3 beats. Of this meter there are 24 lines. In no place does he use the Dina meter of 3+2 beats.

Although, to many minds, the poetical expression of Haggai does not rise to the heights of literary beauty that characterizes Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos, it can certainly not be described as "colorless", "insipid", and

"without force". On the contrary, in his brevity, he is direct and pointed. In his poems of the shorter meter, he drove in his message with a steadiness and power, that the form of its expression must have increased. The description of the political upheaval in 2:26-28, certainly cannot be said to be lacking in vividness and beauty, and in the fourth poem, 2:10-19, the poet makes more extensive use of illustration than in any other part of his preserved works.

The frequent occurrence of the phrases, "Thus said JHVH Sabaoth", "says JHVH", and the line, (five times in all the genuine poems of the book of Haggai, and once in the genuine verses of the Haggaian parts of Zech. 7 and 8), and the number of questions (nine in the book of Haggai, and two in the Haggaian verses in Zech. 7 and 8), have

been the subject of remark, but neither are sufficiently characteristic of Haggai alone to render his style strikingly distinct among the prophetic books of the Old Testament. The phrase "Consider, now", which occurs in 1:7, 2:15 seems to be characteristic of Haggai but the extended lists of particulars in verses 1:6, 11, and 2:19 (though not in 2:12) which Mitchell regards as peculiar to the prophet's style, are really expansive glosses.

The great purpose which is found in the poems in the book of Haggai, concentrates on the building of the Temple. It required vigorous and repeated effort to accomplish this aim in the midst of the conditions at that time. But the program of the poet is not confined to this as many seem to think. He was also among the inciters of Zerubbabel's rebellion (2:20-23), occupied the position of

a man whose judicial advice carried some weight in practical political affairs. (cf. Zech. 7:1-5), and cannot be considered entirely indifferent to moral instruction, if the injunction in Zech. 8:16, 17, 19 may be ascribed to him.

The many resemblances and coincidences of the eighth chapter of Zechariah, with the book of Haggai, has been remarked by Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, G. A. Smith, Mitchell, and others. Now ~~Wellhausen~~^x suggested that the fragment in Zech. 8:9-13 can be understood only before Hag. 2:10 ff. Prof Haupt presented a paper, Two Pages of Haggai in the Book of Zechariah, at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, [†] March, 21, 1913, in which he more definitely set forth that two sections in Zechariah

^x GVI, 212 f.

[†] Cf. also JBL 32, 107 and 33, 161

8:9-17 and 7:1-3 + 8:18, 19a + 7:4-6 + 8:19b, contain poems of Haggai. Possible reasons in support of this conjecture are the following:

- 1) With the exception of Zech. 7:14-8, which is probably to be appended to 2:5-9, the material of chapters 7 and 8 has little in common with the contents of the preceding chapters and they certainly have no relation to Deutero-Zechariah. It is true that there are resemblances between 7:8-14 and 1:1-6 but 1:1-6 is a theological introduction, arising from another hand than Zechariah's or Haggai's. Ch. 8:1-3 seems to be a variant of 1:14-16 and 8:20-23 is a later addition to 8:4-8. This leaves the authorship of the remainder of these two chapters unaccounted for.

- 2) The visions of Zechariah are written in prose (1:7-6:15), while 8:9-17 and 7:1-3 + 8:18, 19a + 7:4-6 + 8:19b are metrical.

3. The ascription to Zechariah in 7:1, of the words which follow, has been questioned quite independently, on purely textual grounds and denied by Nowack, Luthi, Marti, Ehrlich, and Mitchell. See n.

(4) The poem in Zech. 7:1-3 + 8:18, 19a + 7:4-6 + 8:19b, although not containing very many noticeable resemblances to Haggai's poems, yet may have been his. The priestly party would find in it very little that was congenial to them, because the speaker advocated the abandonment of certain fasts. Hence they may have tried to suppress it, but it was preserved orally, and later added incorrectly to this part of Zechariah.

(5) The very noticeable resemblance in words, style, thought, and spirit between the poem in Zech. 8:9-17 and the words of Haggai, affords the strongest evidence

that they are due to the same mind. This striking similarity can most easily be seen from a parallel arrangement.

Zechariah 8

Haggai

9. Thus JHVH said, Be steadfast 2:4 Now take thou courage, Zerubbabel ye who listen to all these words! And all ye people! says JHVH Sabaoth

Take courage and work! for I am with you.

My spirit abides among you. Fear not!

from the mouth of the prophets 2:18 The time from the day when was
the basis in the day that the founded,
House of JHVH Sabaoth was founded, the Temple, now consider!
the Temple to be built.

10 There was no hire for man, 1:9a. Ye looked for much, and lo it is little
nor was there hire for beast; 1:10 Therefore the heavens withheld their dew
He who went or came was not safe, 1:11 I called a drought on land and mounts
I set you against one another. And on the grain and the new wine.

2:16 Ye would come to a heap of twenty
and lo! there were but ten.

When ye came to draw fifty measures
from a vat, there were but twenty.

1:6 and the wage-earner earned wages
into a bag full of holes.

11, 12 But now the seed is thinning 2:7 And in this place I'll give prosperity
the heavens will yield their dew. 1:10 Therefore, the heavens withheld their dew.
The vine will yield its fruits, and the earth will yield its produce
the land will yield its crop. 1:19 Is the seed-grain yet in the barn?
I am not so short of Are the grape-vines yet unbearing?
this people as in former days
says JHVH Sabaoth.

13 Ye were a curse 'mong the nations. ~~Fear not, this day I will bless~~
But ye will be a blessing, Fear not! 2:5 Fear not!

14 I planned to do you harm 1:9 What ye brought home, I blew upon it
when your fathers provoked me to wrath. Why is that so? says JHVH Sabaoth.

Because of My House which lies in ruins.

While ye are running for your own houses

1:11 I called a drought on land and mounts.

15 I planned again to benefit 2:5 My spirit abides among you, Fear not!
The nation of Judah. Fear not! 2:9 And in this place I'll give prosperity.

16 Speak friendly with each other;

judge truly in your courts! 2:14 To (unclean) it is with this people.

17 And evil against his neighbor before me,

think to none of you in your hearts! declared JHVH Sabaoth.

Love not lying oaths And so it is with their handiwork

for all these are things I hate What they offer there is unclean.

(vs. 16, 17, however, seem to have 2:14 (in Septuagint)., post Zech 1:16, 17)

a parallel in Zech. 7:9 which *because of their taking oaths*

is a sequel to the theological *and of rats in gates, reprovers*

introduction, Zech. 1:1-6 (see n. on XII π XIV under iii, to IV)

I

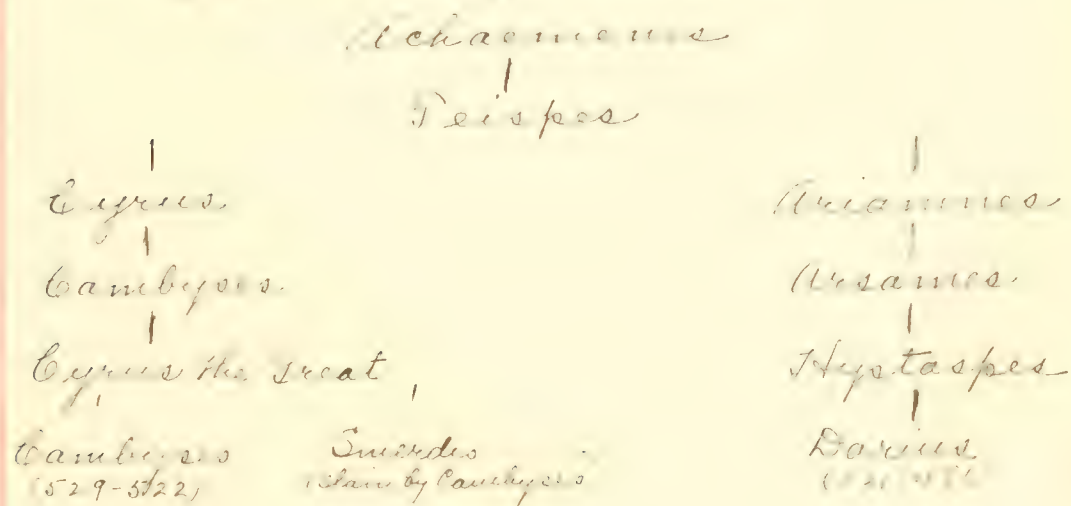
(1) Neither Darius Ochus (425-405 B.C.), nor Darius Codomanus (336-330 B.C.) but Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.), son of Hystaspis.

The question in 2:3 would have no meaning if it were asked of any one who lived later than Darius's reign and the political situation described in 2:6, 7, 21, 22 agrees exactly only with that of the year in which Darius Hystaspis ascended the Persian throne.

After the death of Cambyses, in the midst of the period of the rebellion of Pseudo-Smerdis, in the spring of 522, the world-empire of the Persians was in great danger of internal disruption. Cambyses had no son and had killed his brother, the son of Cyrus. Pseudo-Smerdis held the balance of power for several months but was assassinated on September 29, 522.*

*See Haupt, "The visions of Zechariah", JBL 32, 107 and the references there cited.

the many claimants of the Persian throne.
Darius alone succeeded in firmly establish-
ing himself as the successor of Cambyses.
His claims can best be seen from the fol-
lowing genealogical table:



From the Behistun Inscription of Darius we learn how completely unsettled the political affairs of the empire were. Besides the up-
rising of Pseudo-Smerdis in Persia, he men-
tions the rebellions of Artabanus in Bactria,
^{Media in Persia} Nadiata-belus in Babylon, ^{Mastigya} Martis in Susiana,
^{Eccastakum} Phraortes in Media, Sitratachmes in Sagartia.

Phraates in Margiana, Wisdates in Persia, and Aracus in Babylow. But within less than three years, with the help of Hystaspes, his father, and other able generals, Darius succeeded in wholly overthrowing every rebellion and firmly establishing himself in the place of Cambyses. The dates of the more important events of these years are as follows:*

On March 11, 522 began the uprising of Pseudo-Smerdis. The last date of Cambyses is the 16th of the following month. The assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis and the ~~occupation~~ occupation of the throne by Darius occurred on September 29, of the same year. After several months of fighting, Darius won his way into Babylow on December 21.

During the spring and summer of 521, occurred a number of battles in which the rebellious in the provinces were put down. September 21, 521

* See F. H. Weissbach, Zum babylonischen Kalender, in the Abhandl. univers. Erlangen op. p. 290, and Mitchell, Haggas (J. C. C.) p. 19f.

is the first date of Nabu-budur-issur who led the first revolt in Babylon. The second revolt in Babylon was not overcome until 519. The great confusion in the affairs of the Persian Empire and the numerous revolts were doubtless followed with great interest and close attention by the people of Judah who saw in these times a chance to restore their national independence.*

(2) August 28, 520 B.C. as F. H. Weissbach[†] and E. Wabler[‡] have shown. Weissbach has based his table of dates for these years on three considerations: (a) The Babylonian year of twelve lunar months consisted of 354 days; (b) the first year of Darius, 521 B.C., contained a thirteenth or leap-year month of thirty days; Strassmayer (Camb. 400) had shown that the dark of the moon which was observed on Dûzu

* JBL 32, 108 † Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, 281 ff.

‡ Zur Chron. der Bab. Also cf. E. Meyer in G. A. iii, 195 and Haupt in JBL 33, 101

fourteenth in the seventh year of the reign of Cambyses, occurred July 16/17, 523 B.C. If the 1137 days from Nisan 14, 523 to Elul (sixth month) 1, 520 be added to the Julian date of July 16/17/523 for the former, the date of Haggai's first proc. must be August 28/29, 520 B.C.

During the Exile, the Babylonian system of month-names became familiar to the Jews. The old Israelitish calendar was dropped, and in this period the months were known by their numbers (The Babylonians began their year in the spring) but the Babylonian names for the months finally superseded their designation by number. The sixth month was called Elul (Neh. 6:15) which Prof. Haupt has discussed* as the month of gathering.

The first day of the month was a holiday.

x

ZDMG 64, 703 ff. JBL 32, 139

(Is. 66:23, Am. 8:5) and the poem was delivered before the assembly of people who would gather about a public speaker on such a day. (3) Lit., by the hand of. Here as in 2:1 the one to whom these introductory passages must be ascribed, has described the prophet as the channel through which the divine message was communicated to those for whom it was intended. In 2:10, 20 however, only the communication of the message to the prophet is described, and the reader is left to understand from the context that the message was passed on to the proper hearers.

(4) Haggai was a patriotic poet like Amos, Hosea, and Micah. The Hebrew word for prophet, nābî does not mean fore-teller, but is a passive form of nabâ, to bubble up, and means inspired.

(5) The national hopes of the Jews centered in Zerubbabel from the day of his birth, and grew in intensity as he approached manhood. His name which is undoubtedly a Hebraized form of a Babylonian original has been variously interpreted to mean, Sorrow-over-Babylon, a meaning which is derived from the Aramaic zarâb (Ass. zarâbu), to oppress; or Seed-of-Babylon, from the Assyrian zâr-šâbîlî, which appeals to Sellin, Mitchell et. al. It is more probable that Prof Haupt's explanation^x is the correct one. He holds it to mean Grief-for-Babel (cf. Ass. zurub-libbi), originally interpreted as Sorrow-over-Babel, and afterwards as He-who-will-inflict-distress-upon-Babel.

In I Ch. 3:17ff, Zerubbabel appears as the first born of Pedaiah, the third son of Jeconiah.

^x JBL 32, 108

In Mt. 1:12, Lk. 3:27, Ezra 3:2, 8, 5:2, Neh. 12:1, and throughout Haggai, he is called the son of Shealtiel who was the first son of Jeconiah. Höpfer explains this difficulty by assuming that Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah by a levirate marriage with the widow of Shealtiel and thus the legal heir of Shealtiel. Kinchi, Henderson and others advance the hypothesis that Pedaiah was the son of Shealtiel and hence that Zerubbabel was Shealtiel's grandson, but there is not sufficient time in the period of the Exile to account for a third generation. Mitchell follows the Septuagint rendering of I Ch. 3:19 which has Shealtiel in place of Pedaiah as the father of Zerubbabel. It seems sufficient however to hold the simplest explanation, advanced by Aben Ezra, that Shealtiel had no sons but adopted the eldest son of his brother, *

* Die Nachex. Proph., 115 ff.

Pedaiah and thus became the legally adopted father of Zerubbabel, whose natural father was Pedaiah.

It can clearly be seen by computation* that Zerubbabel was a young man in 520 B.C. II K. 24:8 declares Jehoiachin (= Jeconiah of I Ch. 3:17) was 18 years old at the time he was carried captive to Babylon. Thirty-seven years later, according to II K. 25:27, he was taken out of prison and given a place at the court of Evil-Merodach. At this time in 561, when he was 55 years old, and a pensionary of the Chaldean court, he would for the first time establish a household—something which he could not have done in prison. And ^{probably} at this time his five sons were born. Twenty years or more, later, these sons would have attained an age when they too would take wives to themselves. It is very

* See Meyer, Ent. d. Jud., 79.

probable, therefore, that Jeconiah^x who belonged to the third generation, was born in Babylonia about 538 B.C.^x and accordingly in 520, was a youth of eighteen. The hopes of the Exiles were probably greatly exalted in 561 when their king, Jehoiachin was recognized at the royal court. At his death, Shealtiel, his eldest son would be accorded the official recognition as the head of the Jews, which had been bestowed on Jehoiachin. It is probable that neither Shealtiel nor his next younger brother, Malchiram had sons, so great joy would arise among the exiles when a heir was born to Gedaliah, the third son of Jehoiachin. This joy is pictured in Is. 9:6 & ff. The hopes that were associated with the new babe, were raised to an especially high place in that year, by the approach of Cyrus, heralded as the deliverer.

^x of JBL 32, 108 and OLZ, 12, 67

of the Jews. David's blood flowed
in the veins of the child and therefore he became
the bearer of the national hopes on the hearts
of the people. These hopes followed the child
when he was taken as a babe with the band
of those who returned to Jerusalem in 538,
under the permission of Cyrus. In Ezra 2:2
and Neh. 7:7 he is numbered among the twelve
elders under whose leadership, these accounts
represent the Return to have taken place.
The boy Zerubbabel, however, was probably
under the protection of Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:11).
E. Meyer* identifies Sheshbazzar with the
Theraazzar of 1 Ch. 3:15, the fourth son of the
captured Jewish king Jeconiah and hence
a suitable one to be regarded as leader by the
Jews and the Persians carried during the minority
of Zerubbabel. Nothing is heard of Sheshbazzar

* Ent. d. Jud. 75 ff.

after the first years of the Return, and it is probable that he died about the time that Zerubbabel was approaching manhood in 521. Following its usual policy of appointing as governors of subject peoples, their recognized chiefs, the Persian government, perhaps as one of the first official acts of Darius, gave this office in Judah to the youthful Zerubbabel. A legendary and wholly untrustworthy account of his selection for the governorship is given in I Esdras 4:13 ff.

(6). A grandson of Seraiah. I Ch. 6:14 (Hel. Text, 5:40) According to II K. 25:18 ff. and Jer. 52:24 ff. Seraiah was taken with other priests by Nebuchadnezzar's officer at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, to Riblah (= Arbela - Irbid, SW of Magdala, NW of Hammoth, the ancient capital of Galilee^x) where they were put to death. *Paraphrase*

^x cf. JBL 35, 287 and ASSL 27, 28

Jehozadak (II K. 24:14) went into captivity with the rest of his nation. In II K 25:18ff and Jer 52:24f. Seraiah is called the chief priest, and it is usually supposed that, as the royal line was kept alive and recognized by the people of the Exile, in Jehoiachin, Shealtiel, and Zerubbabel, so the priestly line was carried through this period by Jehozadak and Joshua. This has been questioned by Rosters^{*} but Mitchell[†] replies: "Although the Jews had no high priest, in the sense in which the term is used in the Hexateuch, before the Exile, such passages as 2 K. 11¹⁵, as well as 25¹⁵, show that they had a chief over their priests, and other passages, like 1 S. 14³, prove that the office regularly descended from father to son. Cf. E. B., art. Priest, 5: Benzinger, Arch., 413 f." Marti[‡] holds that even at the time of Haggai, the priests constituted a college among whom the high priest was only the head, the premier.

* W I., 41f † Haggai (ICC), 44 ‡ Dodekapro., 387

officer, *primus inter pares*." Now ^{ack} and Mitchell^{*} have shown that this may be the oldest record of the existence of the high priest, that we have in the Old Testament.

Prof. Haupt advances the suggestion that "Joshua may have been the first high-priest, the theocratic head of the congregation, only after the removal of Zerubbabel. The introductory lines are later than 519. Joshua may represent a subsequent addition. Cf. SBL 32, 113, l. 7. Haggai may have addressed his poems to Zerubbabel, not to Zerubbabel and Joshua". He denies that there was a high priest prior to the removal of Zerubbabel and cites ^{S.A. Cookin} E B 11, 1, 4^a: "Several difficulties in the present Biblical text appear to have arisen from the attempt of later tradition to find a place for Aaron in certain incidents". If his suggestion is correct, the phrase and to ^{the high priest} Joshua ben-jehozadak

^{*} Kl. No., 302 [†] Haggai (ICC), 44

must be regarded as unhistorical and probably an addition by a later hand than the one who first added the introductory statement. The additions to the name, Yehoiakim, such as, the governor of Judah and Ben-Shealtiel are also probably secondary. Cf. 2:4. ^{transcription of the original} ^{Subject: The addition}

(7) Haggai knew of the prevailing opinion among a large part of the people, that it was not yet the right time to engage successfully in the reconstruction of the Temple, since it appeared to them that JHVH's anger had not yet been sufficiently lifted from upon them. But the poet felt that the real reason for the long delay (seventeen years since the Return) was a disinclination that grew out of their misfortunes and hard times. Because of droughts and crop-failures (1:10f), heavy taxes and foreign interference, great disappointment had followed their daily labors (1:9). Yet sufficient results

had been obtained in the preceding years, to enable many of them to improve their own dwellings and live comfortably enough for Haggai to challenge them with selfishness (1:4, 9²) as long as work on the Temple was not undertaken.

(8) The people had doubtless already considered long, the poverty-stricken circumstances of their lot and had reasoned that it was useless to attempt work on the Temple because JHVH's displeasure had not blessed them with the means of accomplishing its restoration. But Haggai invites them to review with him, the situation that from it, he might draw for them a far different conclusion.

(9) Lit., your ways, not ways of right or wrong but ways of prosperity or misfortune. To fare forth means to go forth; to fare well or badly means to live comfortably or poorly. Heb. derech means way,

walk, path or course in life, condition, state.

(10) Verse 8 is evidently out of place. Budde places it after verse 4. Ehrlich connects 7b and 9 without disposing of 8. Van Hoonaker transposes 7 and 8. Mitchell argues for the arrangement in the Received Text. But the command to work in 8, should not interrupt the argument in 7 and 9 and properly belongs after verse 11. So, Brevint.

(11) When those who returned, had left Babylon, they had high hopes and large expectations of prosperity in Palestine, as is portrayed in Psalms^{*} 122 and 126. But hardship, misfortune and crop-failure had met them and had continued with them to this very time.

(12) The answer to their expectations not only had been small in the past, but also had refused to improve as the years went by. The present prospects seemed to be no better than those of

^{*} Cf. Rabinowitz, *Isr. Stud.* 1960, pp. 122-123.

of the past; "and lo! it is indeed little".

(11) According to Prof. Haupt, I blew upon it might mean originally 'I breathed upon it'. 'I gave utterance to disparaging remarks about it', or "I pook-pooked it"; cf. the German "Ich pfeife darauf", i.e. 'I do not care a pin for it'. 'I do not mind it in the least'. What they brought home was so insignificant that it did not amount to anything. It was consumed so rapidly that it seemed as if it had been blown away. Their grain was like chaff driven by the wind. It was insubstantial and transient like smoke.

But Prof. Haupt holds that in this connection the poet does not wish to represent JAHV's contempt for their crops and vintage, so much as that their failure was due to JAHV's anger. The Hebrew phrase which meant originally 'I breathed upon it', here means 'I blasted it'

'I breathed upon it with a pernicious influence
'blast' denotes not only blowing, but also
blight, curse, striking with the force of an arrow.
The text says "and I blew upon it = thus I made
it to perish as hail perishes". For 'blow' =
blast, see further, Critical notes, p. 1

(14) The people had reasoned that the Temple could
not be built because of the existing hard times.
But Haggai asserts the converse; the existing
hard times were due to JHVH's displeasure that
His house ~~which~~ was allowed to lie in ruins,
was neglected while the people thought only of
their own houses. Because My house is in
ruins, therefore the drought and crop-failure.
As soon as the people's negligence and indif-
ference to the Temple would cease, the poet
implies that prosperity would take the place
of their poverty.

(15) Cf. II K 25:9, 13ff and II Ch. 36:19. The people had

repaired many of the houses in the city and were living in them and shortly after the Nabataeans had erected the Altar of Burnt-offering. But heaps of overturned stone and a few charred timbers - blackened ruins - were probably all that could be seen of the former Temple. On these ruins no work of any extent had been done.

(16) The poet means to say to them; Hard times have not prevented you from giving attention to needed repairs and improvements on your own dwelling. Therefore misfortunes are no valid excuse for the lack of zeal which you manifest for JAH'S house

(17) The rainy season in Palestine lasts from November until April, 67.5 percent of the rain falls in December and January. After the winter crops of barley and wheat have ripened and are harvested in May, the skies are cloudless until September. But during these months

the nightly sea breezes, being a great deal of moisture which is precipitated in the form of a very heavy mist.^x This precipitation proved as moisture for the summer crops of millet, sesame, figs, melons, grapes, olives, etc. During the summers preceding Aug. 29, 520 B.C. these nightly moisture laden west-winds must have been irregular and frequently interspersed with the destructive sirocco winds from the Eastern deserts. Because of the resulting drought, the grain harvests of millet and sesame and the yield from the grapes had been continually disappointing.

(18) The drought affected the grain fields on the plains and the vineyards on the mountain slopes. Grain and new wine are the principal products of land and mounts, respectively. The poet may even have meant, Even the wooded hills of the hill country were dry, cf. Am. 1:2

^x See Haupt, Canticles, 36. n.(8).

(19) Haggai energetically proceeds in his exhortation that they immediately engage in the work of building and promises them SHH's help.

(20) A very indefinite expression. Palestine is a land of mountains. In Psalm 121, the hopeful Exile in Babylonia turns his thought to the Homeland in Judea and says to his companions "I will lift up mine eyes to the mountains".

The mountains of Lebanon have always been famous for their great cedars and had contributed to the glory of the Solomonic Temple

(1K. 5:15ff). The range of Carmel, too, has been thickly wooded since ancient times.

(Cant. 7:5, Mic. 7:14). Kiriath-jearim, "City of Forests", was located about ten miles from Jerusalem. But the means and strength of the small community would not permit them to go far for the wood that was to be used in building the Temple. It is probable

that the people went out to some of the neighboring hillsides for the timbers that were necessary. At that time, this neighborhood must still have been wooded; cf. Neh. 2:8, 8:15. It may be that this expression had a definite local connotation to Haggai and his hearers since in the Hebrew text, the word for mountain is singular and has the article.

We speak today of "going up to the mountains for a vacation" and our friends know the locality in the whole Appalachian system that we have in mind. Prof. Haupt suggests that in this instance mountain equals forest and cites as parallels the Black Forest, Hagenwald, Böhmerwald and in Goethe's poem, An den Mond; Füllest wieder Busch und Thal (for Berg und Thal). Heb. sâde, field, = Ass. šadû, mountain; Heb. xôreš, thicket, = Ass. ursû, mountain; and Heb. dôher, steppe =

Esth. dabr, mountain. And so the poet may have meant to say: Go out to the woods.

(21). The new Temple structure was not to be a wooden one, as there is no instruction or given here to collect stone for building. In 2:15 the joining of stones is mentioned, and Ezra 6:4 speaks of three courses of great stones and one course of new timber. Sufficient stone must have been near at hand in the ruins of the devastated city and the site of the former Temple which had been burned.

(23) Lit., Then I'll take pleasure in it and glorify Myself. In vv. 9, 10 the reason for JHVH's displeasure which resulted in drought and crop-failure is given as the failure of the people to rebuild the Temple. Here, the poet means to say: As soon as the Temple is rebuilt JHVH will be pleased and show His glory; i.e. He will glorify Himself by giving prosperity to His people in the eyes of

the hearers who continually questioned it.

(23) After the two lines of v. 8, another line is needed to complete this fifth triplet of Haggai's first poem. The remaining verses of this chapter appear to be an addition in prose, describing the effect of Haggai's speech. But v. 13 interrupts the course of this narrative. The verse, in whole or in part, has been regarded as a gloss by nearly all critics. Prof. Haupt, however, finds in the second half, I am with you, saith JHVH, a fitting conclusion to the poem since it corresponds well with the sentiment at the end of v. 8, and supplies the missing line in the triplet.

(24) A prose narrative is affixed only to the first poem. In it we are informed that Haggai's words had a powerful and immediate effect. Not only Zerubbabel, who is mentioned in v. 1 as the one to whom Haggai spoke, but also all the remnant of the people listened earnestly and reverently.

* Sievers inserts a modified form of v. 13^a between vv. 8 and 12, but rejects v. 13^b.

and were moved to go to work on the Temple. The ruins which had stared at them accusingly for the seventeen years since the Return now buzzed with life. Haggai's great desire was being accomplished; his pointed arguments and accusation had found their mark; his enthusiasm had been contagious.

(25) Not the people who had been left in the land when the greater part was carried captive to Babylonia in 586 B.C. but the people, few in number, who had survived the captivity, returned to Judah, and had not succumbed to the hardships which had been the fortune of the colony at Jerusalem.

(26) By building a suitable house for His dwelling. The Hebrew phrase does not refer to a fear, i.e. of punishment by Him, but to a reverential awe which manifested itself in obedience and respect.

(27) See n. (6) on I

(28) Has this the first work on the Temple? Neither Haggai nor Zechariah knows of any previous attempt. The statement in Ezra 5:16 that the Temple foundations had been laid by Sheshbazzar and its construction continued for some time is entirely unsupported, and the account in Ezra 3:8-10 is much confused. It is true that under Sheshbazzar, the colonists worshipped at an altar of burnt-offering at the Temple site but Hölcher* suggest on the basis of Jer. 41:5 that even this may have been erected previously by worshippers who remained in the land after 586. Probably some of the debris of the ruins had been removed. It may be that some of the foundations of the former Temple were still in place since the burning of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar would not totally destroy

* Die Propheten, 344.

the foundations of stone. It would be necessary only to repair some of it and build a little more before the superstructure was undertaken.

(29) A useless repetition of a portion of v. 1. It interrupts the course of the argument in vv. 2, 4, and cannot belong to the words of Haggai because it contains his name instead of using the pronoun of the first person. Budde, Hitzig, Marti, and Nowack retain it, but it is rejected by Budde, Duhm, Kittel, Mitchell, and Haupt.

(30) A gloss that arises from v. 9 b. It produces an anti-climax to the prophet's question. A wave of his hand over the Temple ruins would be much more effective.

(31) Vv. 5, 6 add nothing to the meaning or force of the poem. V. 5^a is but a repetition of the words in v. 2^a. The same is true of v. 7^a and both must be omitted, or the effect becomes monotonous and the appeal of the poet is weakened. V. 5^b contains identically the

same words as v. 7^b. The poet could have used them but once. Mark, Norack, J. A. Smith, and Hellhausen must v. 7^b but retain it b which amounts to the same. l. 6 is an amplification of what is expressed more forcibly in the fewer words of v. 9^a. According to Prof Haupt's restoration, vv. 5, 6 are an illustrative gloss which contains a quatrain in the same meter as the poem in which it was inserted.

[32] André is hardly justified in finding in the Hebrew for these words, the meaning of "a little perforated stone", which, made with a seal and hung around the neck marks the wearer as a slave. The translations by the versions are much more probable and just as vivid. It was a leaky purse. The situation that is set forth in this line is well illustrated by the conditions in the present time (1917). Paper envelopes have been filled with more than ever before, but high prices for food, clothing, shelter, and high

leave the labourer with less than usual. He gains the impression that there must be a hole in his purse through which the money is being lost for he does not enjoy the sum of the real value of its contents.

(33) As the drought is spoken of as covering land and mounts it was sufficient for the poet in the next line to name only the principal product of each, i.e. grain and must. A later glossator added a much more detailed and prosaic account of the effects of the drought.

(34) According to Prof Haupt, an explanatory gloss which was added by some one who wished to avoid the impression that the people had heard the voice of JHVH; cf. T. DMG 63, 513, l. 13 (Deut. 12; Jer. 1).

II

(1) For the reasons why the second poem appears at the end of the book, see p. 1.

Contemporaneously with the movement to rebuild the Temple, there arose in the minds of many in the Jewish colony at Jerusalem, a desire for political freedom from the Persian dominion, a desire for independent national existence. These hopes were encouraged by the world situation at the time of the death of Cambyses and the accession of Darius. Their desires, thus fostered, resulted in a political rebellion with the youthful Davidic scion, Zerubbabel at that time governor of Judah by the favor of the Persians, at its head. There were doubtless many other Jews who looked with disfavor upon the political movement. Allied with this party were the priests who wanted only religious freedom. Haggai places himself

in the cause of Zerubbabel and less than a month after his first address, he speaks again to prophesy the success of the rebellion and the exaltation of Zerubbabel as the Chosen of JHVH.

(2) All the versions count 1:15 as the first verse of chapter 2. The Masoretic Text, however, and Jewish and Christian exegetes attach it at the close of the first chapter, although in the Masoretic Text there is a lesser pericope division (Goph) between verses 14 and 15. Wellhausen refers the date in 1:15 to the events in the preceding passage. Budde applies the first words of 1:15 at the end of v. 14 and rejects as useless the remainder. Nowack, Mitchell, and Ehrlich divide the verse between the two chapters. In *Pesch. Haggadah* 15b is regarded as belonging to both chapters. Marti thinks the whole verse is a supplementary addition. Rothstein, followed by Sellin, holds

* Rodkinson, B.T. IV, Part 2, pp. 11 f. cited by Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 15. Goldstein, *op. cit.* p. 15. Talmud.

it to be a broken-off piece to which 2:15-19 may belong. Klosterman would append Je. 8:9-13 after this verse, which he regards as an extract that has been lost out, nothing but the date remaining.

All of these are unsatisfactory. Rothstein and Klosterman suggest that a passage has fallen out, after this verse, but neither passage that they propose to use to supply the loss is suitable. The three weeks that elapse between the dates in 1:1 and 1:15 are not sufficient time to produce the change in conditions that are portrayed in either 2:15-19 or Je. 8:9-13. As has been suggested by Prof. Haupt,* however, the date in 1:15 is one on which such an utterance as is found in 2:21-23 would fit admirably. The suggestion is further enhanced

* See Acts of the Sixteenth Oriental Congress (Athens, 1912) p. 75 (abstract of Haupt's paper on suppressed passages in the C.T.) and JBL 32, 113, below.

by the fact that the same day of the month is inferred to in 2:20, and that this poem alone, of the four in the book, as it stands in the Received Text, is furnished with a date in which the month is not mentioned. That appears as a useless appendage at the close of the narrative in 1:12, 14, serves valuably before 2:20-23.

(3) Twenty three days after the date of the first poem (1:1), i.e. after Aug. 29, 520 B.C. gives the date of this poem on Sept. 21, 520 B.C.

(4) The first poem was represented as a message from SHVH to Zerubbabel (1:1), that was transmitted by the prophet. But the compiler has represented this second poem as a communication which SHVH directed to Haggai himself, and which Haggai is supposed to have related subsequently to the people as an incident in his own experience.

(5) This does not refer to any cosmic disturbance in which the earth will rock and the heavens

roll up, but is a poetical figure for the overthrow of the great powers of the earth, which in that generation, were the Persian government and its gods. The great confusion, the numerous rebellions, the unsettled feeling that spread over the whole world after the strong rule of Cyrus and Cambyses had ended in the death of Cambyses, furnished in 520 B.C. (see now I) a vivid background of reality to the poet's declaration that a great political and religious upheaval was taking place. "The pantheon of some nations will be affected, and the map of the world will be changed; provinces of the Persian empire will make themselves independent".*

It was natural that Haggai saw the hand of YHWH in these stirring events of world importance.

(6) Lit., throne of kingdoms, but it is a plural of extension, and refers to the dominion of the

* See JBL 35, 282 below

1. The throne of the king of the world
2. The throne of the king of the world

world-wide Persian government which really
was not finally free of serious danger until
Darius put down the last important rebellion
in 519 B.C.

The great king of Persia
is called $\Pi = \text{Darius}$ in F. 110
For the king of Persia is called $\Pi = \text{Darius}$

(7) It would seem to be the height of presumption
for the handful of people in the vicinity of Jerusalem
to hope to secure and preserve their independent
national existence from the great Persian power.
Prof. Haupt has cited the parallel, the successful
struggle of Judas Maccabeus against the Seleucid
Kingdom^x. Even though the Persian power seemed
about to be shattered, many other foreign
groups might menace them. But their indepen-
dence was not to be secured by their own hands.
To the mind of Haggai and his contemporaries
it was to be brought about by some marvellous
direct interference of JHVH.[†] Theirs was to be a

^x See AJSL 23, 230, n. 24.

[†] Cf. 1 Macc. 3:17, 19, 22; 4:8-11, 30-33

kingdom established by JHVH's power and safeguarded by Him. Jerusalem, as His dwelling place, and not Babylon, was to become the center of world control. The Jews need do nothing to bring this about. Was not His hand at that very moment operating to produce the confusion and dissension that was destroying the kingdom which Cambyses had so greatly strengthened and extended? The choicest military forces of ^{the} Persians were in grave danger of destruction in the midst of recurring insurrections. The armies recruited from many provinces by Cambyses to enlarge his power, were now falling upon and destroying one another.†

(8) Haggai himself does not figure in this communication, but JHVH is represented by Him as

× Cf. JBL 32, 109-112, 115, 120

† Cf. Ju. 7:22, Ezek. 38:21, II Ch. 20:15, 17, 23, 29. See Haupt's Joel, 384, JAOS 34, 412

directly addressing Zerubbabel. In this time of world catastrophe, Zerubbabel is the one who is selected and favored by YHWH to become the king of His people in the new nation.

(9) From antiquity until comparatively modern times, the signet ring has been an article of the greatest importance in personal property. Its value did not lie in its use as an ornament but in times in which none but a few scribes could write, and signatures of course were unknown, the engraving on each signet ring was used to make an impression on letters and documents as a representation of the owner's name (cf. IK. 21:8). It was worn either on a string about the owner's neck (Gen. 38:18, Cant. 7:6) or on a finger of his right hand (Jer. 22:24). Because of the great authority which it conveyed to its possessor, it seldom was permitted to leave the presence of the one who

owned it. Only occasionally was it entrusted to the care of the most responsible servant, official, or favored friend. It came to signify the most precious possession that a man had. (cf. Sir. 17:22). Zerubbabel was to signify to the world, all the authority and favor which a signet-ring of JAH's would carry with it. He was to bear the stamp of JAH's authority and become His theocratic viceroy". (quoted from Haupt)

(10) added by a late glossator who believed that the twenty fourth referred to the ninth month, cf. 2:10, 18. It is cited particularly by Böhm as indicating the activity of a supplementer^x

(11) André correctly assigns verse 21^a to the final redactor who conformed the verse to 1:1 and 2:2 on the basis of the address to Zerubbabel in 2:23.

(12) for the throne of David.

^x Cf. Est. 22, n. 14 (AJSL 24, 118). JBL 32, 121 (66) or 122 (66) Wellh. ISG⁵ 276, n. 3.

III

(11) Haggai's words on Aug. 27, had been successful in stirring up the people to work on the Temple and from 1:14 we learn that they set about the work with an enthusiastic spirit. Probably the site about the altar of burnt offering was still further cleared, and the walls that were left, of the former Temple were examined and repaired. But the turning aside of any number of hands from the procuring of the necessities of life would soon be felt, and the limitations of the resources of the little community would become all too apparent. Discouragement was the inevitable result, and doubtless a very pessimistic view of the situation was spread abroad by many of the workers, a few weeks after the work was undertaken. Such a spirit must be combatted if the Temple construction was to proceed to completion and the way

prepared for SHN to establish the national independence of his people. The indomitable purpose of Haggai appears when he steps forth, a month and a half after his first appearance, and challenges the courage of his co-builders, picturing the glory and prosperity that will soon be manifested when SHN will act.

(2) Oct. 17, 520 B.C., twenty-seven days after the poem addressed to Zerubbabel on Sept. 21, 520 B.C.

(Cf. 1:15, 2:20) and seven weeks to the day, after his first poem. The twenty-first of the seventh month (Tishri) was the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, although no mention of this is made in the text. In the earlier references to the Feast of Tabernacles, i.e. in the documents J and E (Ex. 34:22, 23:16) as well as in the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 16:13-15) only the length of the feast, seven days, and the general season of the harvest are designated.

But in Ezekiel (45:25) and the Priestly code (Lev. 23:33-43, Nu. 29:12-38) it is assigned to the week beginning on the fifteenth of the seventh month. If the reference in Ezek. 45:25 is authentic, the people in Haggai's time must have been accustomed to celebrate this harvest festival during the very week in which the date in 2:1 falls. During these years, however, the harvests were so very poor, and other troubles were so numerous, that their celebration of it may have been much less elaborate and general than usual. Their struggle for existence may have left very little time to engage in festivities. At any rate, the omission of all reference to it in connection with the date of this poem leads us to hesitate to say that Haggai spoke on this day because of the crowds in the city, attending the festival. It is much more probable, as Marti remarks,

that the poet felt compelled to speak out, by the very discouraging spirit that was growing rapidly among the people at this particular time^{*}.

(3) See the latter part of n. (6) on I, p. 61f.

(4) As in his first poem, Haggai begins by introducing the sentiment of the majority of the people. Cf. 1:2. At that time he cited and opposed the prevailing idea that the time had not yet arrived to build SNVH's house, and here he commences

^{*} Prof. Haupt adds: The fact that there is no reference to this feast in the present passage is all the more remarkable since according to 1K 8:2, the Solomonic Temple was dedicated at the feast (of booths) in the seventh month. The present passage may be older than 1K, 8:2 and Nu. 29:12. In 1K. 8:2, at the feast and which is the seventh month represent later additions. They are omitted in the Septuagint; cf. Kings (SBOT) 99, 15. 40.50; 100, 1 and Kittel ad 1K. 8:2.

with a comment that must have prevailed widely (cf. Ezra 3:12) among the builders concerning the disparity in the grandeur of the former Temple and the results of their own humble efforts to date. Haggai himself, does not want to emphasize the contrast contained in verse 3, but wants to combat the discouragement which it causes. He uses it only because it was doubtless quite familiar to the people's ears and would more quickly gain him an attentive hearing.

(5) The glory of the former Temple had been wiped away sixty six years before, when Nebuchadnezzar had carried away in 586 B.C., its sacred vessels and caused the Temple structure to be burned.*

(II K. 25:9, 13 ff). There could have been only a very

* Mitchell lists previous occasions in the history of the Temple when its valuables and decorations had been depleted; (1) at the approach of Shishak in

few men and women, and these at least seventy-five or eighty years old, in the colony, who could tell of the former Temple from personal reminiscence. The glories of "bye-gone days" are usually exaggerated by the old, to new generations, and the greater contrast would add to the general pessimistic attitude that was prevailing. The reign of Rehoboam, c. 930 B.C. (I K. 14:25f); (2) when Jehoshaphat sent tribute to Hazael, 810 B.C. (II K. 12:17f); (3) the involuntary gift of Ahaz to Tiglath-pilezer, 733 B.C. (II K. 16:7f); (4) the costly price of peace which Hezekiah paid to Sennacherib, 701 B.C. (II K. 18:15f); and (5) Nebuchadnezzar's first raid on the treasures of the Temple, 597 B.C. (Jer. 27:18ff and II K. 24:13). The people who were alive in 520 B.C. and who had seen the former Temple must have seen it with very youthful eyes before 586 B.C. and its glory, altho partly destroyed by foreign conquerors, would be greatly enhanced in their memories by its antiquity.

(6) After reviewing the popular sentiment, Haggai now speaks for himself. With the same directness and sincerity that characterized his first address, (cf. 1: 7) he speaks here to the whole group in Jerusalem. Take courage! take courage! is the burden of his exhortation. Don't spend time in vain and disquieting comparisons, but work!

(7) The poet assures the disheartened people that the unfavorable contrast of their work so far, with the splendor of the former Temple, need bring no disquietude to their hearts, for the spirit of JAHVH himself was among them. That they might fail in achieving, He would, beyond a doubt, supply and accomplish. Fear not! "Judaism is immortal. The spirit of Judaism cannot be quenched." (Haupt).

(8) For the strengthening of their weakening hands, Haggai now repeats to the people

what he had shown to Zerubbabel less than a month before^x. That SNVH was truly and at that very hour active in their behalf, could be seen from the great disorder prevailing among the nations of the world. The shaking of heaven and earth, sea and dry land cannot refer as Mitchell thinks, to the expectation of some startling physical catastrophe, but as in 2:21 (See n.6) to II) Haggai is speaking of the religious and political upheaval that was taking

^xCf. 2:21f. This prediction had not yet been fulfilled and the people were accordingly growing faint-hearted. So Haggai says here: Have faith only a little while longer. SNVH has shattered the powers of the world before, and He will do it again after a little while, and there will be no further delay. This will be the last time, for it will usher in the lasting independence of His chosen nation.

place all over the world, and battles that were occurring on land and sea. The expected disruption of the great world-empire of the Persians was thus fitly described. The consummation of such a mighty movement could not take place instantaneously, but after a little its full effect would be felt.

(9) SAVV's hand was seen in these events, and Haggai presents to the people, the idea that the same Hand, that was causing the overthrow of great worldly powers, could certainly cause these same events to bring about the enrichment of His chosen dwelling place in Jerusalem. All peoples will recognize the Power that is making the Jews under the leadership of Jerusalem, victorious over the heathen and will bring rich spoil to Jerusalem.

*Haupt cites the parallel of the Maccabees, 350 years later; cf. Ps. 68:14, 32 (AVSL 23, 229, n. 21; 236, n. 48)

As soon as this comes to pass, their poverty-stricken attempts at the erection of the Temple would be replaced by the glory of treasures contributed from the wealth of the world.

(10). Many commentators, following the Vulgate, Luther, and the Authorized Version use the singular form treasure which is found in the Masoretic text, and refer its fulfillment to Jesus Christ. Cf. Luke 2:25. The other versions, however, translate it by the plural, and in the Hebrew text it is followed by a verb in the plural form and can be repointed to become a plural form without the change of a single consonant.

André' (pp. 226 f) has given a summary of the various views as to its meaning. It has been explained as

- 1) The Messiah coming into world. (so Luther).
- (2) The heathen coming to the Messiah (so Cocceius, Mark etc

(3) The best among the heathen, coming to Jerusalem (so Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cappad., Hitzig, Kuenen, Reinke, etc.)

(4) The treasures of all the heathen nations, arriving at Jerusalem. (so the Septuagint, Targum, Peschitto, and Old Italian versions, and so, Calvin, Ecclampadius, De Wette, Umbreit, Hengstenberg, Weiss, Lagarde, Keil, Wellhausen, etc.)

(11) The treasures referred to in verse 7 are thus shown to be no distant future person, but the anticipated material glory of the Temple upon whose construction the people were engaged in 520 B.C. It is not a declarative statement by Haggai of YHWH's actual ownership of these metals, whether or not among men or still unmined, but it is an anticipatory statement. The God of the Jews would receive silver and gold as a result of the events that would put His servant Zerubbabel at the head

of a Kingdom to which all nations were to be subject.

(12) In conclusion, Haggai attacks the spirit of discouragement among the people, with the broadest and most unqualified promises. The Temple whose beginnings appeared so insignificant was to be clothed with great glory and the poverty of the people themselves was to be replaced by prosperity.*

(13) No title follows the name Zerubbabel in verse 4 and the addition ^{to Joshua} of the full titles son-jehozadak and the high priest leads us to question the whole phrase Take courage O high priest-joshua son-jehozadak as an addition to the original poem, that was added later as in 1:1 and 2:2. See n. (6) to I. p. 144.

* Prof. Haupt cites Is. 9:6 which was written in 538, where the poet says, Zerubbabel will be called the Prince of Prosperity. (J. S. L. 32, 113, n. 23 and Micah 5:1. n. 30 (A. S. L. 27, 51)

(14) Lacking in all versions but the Vulgate, and rejected by nearly all critics. The glossator was probably thinking of a passage like Ex. 3:12 and meant to say: (He repeats) the promise which JHVH gave you when ye came out of Egypt.

IV

(1) The extravagant promises which Haggai had felt justified in making in October on the basis of the world situation at that time, failed to materialize. Discouraging and dissenting voices, shrugging shoulders reappeared; the work on the Temple lagged again and the poet realized that he must renew his efforts to inspire them to the work. This time, it would be necessary to approach them in a different way. His emphasis heretofore had been on the political significance of the reconstruction of the Temple. Their national independence would be inaugurated only when the Temple was prepared to become JHVH's dwelling-place. But now his approach is based upon the religious significance of the new Temple.

Verses 12-19 seem to contain two poems which are written in different meter. No date precedes the second of these (v 14) but verses 14-19 presuppose

verses 12, 13 and were probably delivered on the same day if not at the same time.

(2) Dec. 18, 520 B.C. The two (the brew) months and these days which had elapsed since the third passing (2:1) amounts to two months and but one day in the longer months of the Julian calendar.

(3) Cf. 2:20 and see n. (4) to II.

(4) The questions in verses 12, 13 were not actually submitted to the priests. According to Prof. Haupt they were theoretical questions and answers which were simply a literary device*. The people who heard Haggai, were able to answer the the questions without consulting the priests. "If you tell a man, 'Even a physician will admit that Christian science may effect a cure in certain cases', you do not necessarily mean that the person addressed should ask a physician".

x

cf. JBL 32, 108, n. 4.

5 In Hebrew, the word is the same as that which is commonly used to designate The Law, Torah. It is so translated in this verse by the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Old Latin versions, as well as by most of the older expositors. But the word is not made definite by the article here and must be understood in its more original meaning of instruction, or information*. The oldest codes of the law, (Ex. 20-23[E], 34:10-26[J], 850-750 B.C.), the Deuteronomistic Code (650 B.C.), the Laws of Ezekiel and, less probably, the Holiness Code (550 B.C.) were doubtless known and more or less authoritative at this time, but such incidents as the one related in these verses show that the law was still living and growing. They simply show what was the practice in 520 B.C. and before that time. The

* See Haupt in Acts of the Sixteenth Oriental Congress I, 167;

Chronicles (SBOT) p. 80, 49. Ezra (SBOT) p. 33, 24.

passage in the book of the Law with which Haggai's questions can be compared is found in Lev. 6: 20, 21, 27 where it forms a part of the Priestly Code which was not crystallized until the time of Ezra.

(6) The question, which is quite general and typical of oriental ideas of ceremonial contagion concerns the hypothetical case of whether any food whatever would be rendered holy by coming into contact with any garment in which was being carried holy flesh, i.e. meat of a sacrificial victim; (Lev. 11: 15). The poet is asking if holiness spreads easily - if it will pass from a holy thing to another object when the two are not in contact with each other but both are in contact with a third material. The answer is quite evident, and all the people know at once that the only reply that can be made is No.

7) The second question bears on the contagiousness of defilement. The aversion to a dead body and all who come in contact with it, among Orientals is well known. The ceremonial defilement that attaches itself to everything of this kind is set forth in Num. 19:11-22 (Priestly Code). In a briefer form than ⁱⁿ the first question, Haggai asks whether pollution will spread through an intermediate person or object and contaminate a third. Now as Prof Haupt suggests, a layman might hesitate to declare a skin-bottle of wine unclean if it had been touched by a person defiled by contact with a dead body, but the priests will say, It is unclean. A layman may think it unnecessary to isolate a patient suffering from a contagious disease, but every one knows that a physician will insist on it. Prof Haupt further cites an advertisement of the Sulpha-Hospital Co., Boston, which says:

"A maid can scrub all day long till the house
looks as clean as a pin, but it is not hygieni-
cally clean unless a disinfectant has been
used. Every physician will tell you this is so
as all who read, do not actually ask a physician,
so those who heard Haggai's questions did not
find it necessary to consult the priests.
When the answers to these questions had been
fixed in the attention of the people, Haggai had
established the basis of his argument and
appeal. Holiness passes only from the source
to the object touched, but pollution spreads
easily and infects far and wide. Another
illustration suggested by Prof Haupt is that
a single disease germ may infect an entire
community, but a great amount of disinfectant
is required to eradicate and prevent the
germ from spreading.

(8) unfit for daily use, ritually forbidden, taboo.

A person that came into contact with anything at all that had been in the presence of death was considered unclean for several days and unfit to enter the Temple (Num. 19: 14-16)

(9) With verse 14, both the meter and the style change. There must have been at least a pause between the two poems. Verses 12, 13, as Prof. Haupt indicates, exhibit the style of a dialectician, and verses 14-19 show the style of an expositor. But with characteristic directness, Haggai drives home the application of the principle which had been brought forth in the preceding questions. These people are living without a center of moral and ceremonial cleansing, i.e., the Temple. They are continually coming in contact with the defiling and unholy foreign influences of their day. These were contaminating their handiwork to such a degree that it had become unclean.

the sight of JHVH and He had not caused them
to prosper. The existing altar of burnt offering
is not giving them a place that is strong
enough to make the true religion of JHVH a
real influence in the lives of all the people.

Only the reconstructed Temple will assume
sufficient influence in the minds of the
people to enable them to resist the defiling
influences of the surrounding peoples who
worship heathen gods (= dead bodies, so Haupt).

If it is not built, they will ~~go~~ the way of
the people of the Northern Kingdom and be absorbed
by the heathen nations. Prof. Haupt suggests
that the non-Jewish wives and lax Sabbath
observance, against which Nehemiah pro-
tested in the following century, may have
been the basis of Haggai's declaration at this
date and he means to say: As soon as you
rebuild the Temple, you will be proud to be

pure and will keep yourselves, your families, your religious observances, and your nation clean. André⁴ makes a more detailed, though untenable application of the questions in verses 12, 13. Israel, in the first question resembles a man carrying consecrated flesh in the skirt of his garment, and in the second question is the one rendered impure by contact with a corpse; the garment is the land inhabited by the Jews, Palestine; the skirt of the garment is Jerusalem; the corpse is the Temple of JHVH, in ruins; the food in either case represents the products of the soil.

(10) Haggai had contended that JHVH's favor and resulting prosperity would come only when the Temple was restored. He now seeks to prove from the actual experience of the people that his contention is true. Without
Le prophète Aggée, p. 304

referring to the international situation which was still in abeyance, he points out certain evidences of a return of SHVH's favor within their own boundaries since work on the Temple had been commenced. He directs their attention to the past, on this occasion, although several months earlier he had tried to turn their thoughts from the past and present, into the future (2:1-9)

(11) Lit. upwards. Compare our expressions 'Down to the present time', 'See above', 'See below'.

(12) In this review, the poet divides the past into two distinct periods for the sake of the comparison he wishes to make, and leads the minds of the people to the point of time that distinguished these two periods. That point of time was the date on which work in rebuilding the Temple was begun. Before that, the stones of the former Cf. Haupt's Goel's Poem on the Locusts, n. 43

Temple lay despoiled and in ruins! From 1:14 we learn that this date must have been very shortly after Aug. 29, 520 B.C., as Prof. Haupt has shown*, on the basis of Zech. 4:9, that Zerubbabel's hands laid the foundations of the Temple and the work of restoration was begun about Sept. 1, 520 B.C.

(13) With but two[†] swift but vivid strokes, he draws a picture of the conditions before that date. Prosperity and poverty were most easily and most definitely felt, as the yield of grain and wine was large or small. Today, estimates of the world's wheat crop are a matter of international concern. And their poor harvests in the preceding summers were still a matter of very recent recollection in the minds of the people. Haggai had once before (1:7,9) alluded

^x JBL 32, 109 and 33, 161

[†] Verse 17 is an illustrative quotation from Gen. 4:9

to them, and now more vividly he pictures the same situation in different words.

(14) In the process of separating the grain from the chaff, the sheaves were first beaten or trodden. With the help of the wind, the kernels were separated from the chaff by tossing into the air with a fork. The grain is then sifted (Am. 9:9) and gathered together with a shovel into heaps. These heaps of grain would of course be quite overshadowed by the large stacks of straw and chaff. An experienced farmer might be expected to be able to judge the amount of grain by looking at the amount of straw and chaff. In dry seasons, however, the heads of the grain do not fall out; the kernels contain but little "meat", and the yield of grain in proportion to the straw is much less than usual. The epidemic of disease or "rust" also affects both the quantity and the quality of the grain. This had

been the result in the harvests preceding the appearance of Haggai. Then a man came, after threshing and winnowing, to store away the heaps of grain that were left, he found that the yields were so poor that his expectations were only half met.

(15) Wine presses consisted of several vats which were usually hewn out of the limestone rock. The upper vat in which the grapes were trodden was large and shallow. Leading from it to the second vat was a hole through which the juice flowed from the trodden grapes. This receiving vat was on a lower level and was made deeper than the upper one in order to hold the juice. From the lower vat it was drawn off into jars or skins. Although the Hebrew word, *pûrâh*,^{*} is sometimes used for the press itself, in this connection it must refer

^{*} See, Haupt's *Esther*, *ASL*, 24, 126 f, and *ibid.* 27

to the receiving vat which the vinedresser approached with the expectation of a yield of fifty vessels. But a dry season would result in the shrivelling of many of the grapes and the yield of the juice would be far below the normal. The grapes are ripe in August or September, and when Haggai wrote his first poem about the end of August, 520 B.C. before work on the Temple was begun, it may not have been evident that there would be a good vintage. At all events, the seasons preceding 520 B.C. had proven disastrous, and the grapes suffered more than the grain. Less than half the expected yield of wine was produced.

(16) After bringing to the minds of the people, the conditions that prevailed before Sept. 1, 520 B.C. Haggai now turns their thoughts to the second period — the interval between Sept. 1, and Dec. 18, the day on which he was speaking. In these three months and a half, work on the

People had begun and was slowly progressing, and, as appears most significant to the point, the vintage which had been gathered in these months had been a good one. Furthermore, the drought had been broken and the early rains, which usually begin in October, had come in abundance in this autumn to soften the sun-baked ground for plowing and seeding. So Haggai could predict a good harvest for the following year.

(17) Barley was sown first, and then wheat. These are the two chief winter grains. The fact that there had been plenty of rain so that the men had been able to plow and sow, leaving no seed-grain unsown, showed that there would be a good harvest and their fortunes had turned.

(18) store pots, a place where something is stored, lit. shovels down; cf. Joel 1:17, 'underground chambers,' cf. Jer. 41:8.

* See A.S.S.L. 26, 11

(14) The good vintage had already testified to their changed fortunes.

(20) Haggai's argument in his words of 2:12-19 may be briefly presented as follows: Your poor harvests of past years indicated that JHVN's favor was withheld because your offerings and yourselves appeared unclean before Him. Your plea that you bring your offerings to the altar of burnt-offering is not valid. Only the rebuilding of the Temple will counteract the extensive and polluting foreign influences of the times and bring JHVN's permanent favor and consequent prosperity. That this must be true, is plain to all from the change in the tide of misfortune, which had set in during the three months since work on the Temple had been begun. The rains in Oct. 520 were literally a God-send, and the good vintage in the same month was also due to the fact that they had

started to rebuild the Temple of JAHN. Therefore,
he urges, hasten to work on its construction!
The earlier its completion, the sooner will
occur a full measure of prosperity.

(21) Gloss due to the influence of the second line
in the following stanza, verse 13.

(22) inserted owing to the preceding and they, (the
priests) will say. The same is true of the phrase
at the beginning of verse 14.

(23) Mitchell argues for the genuineness of these
words but they are rightly rejected by André
and Böhme. They may have been added by a
priestly glossator who objected to the national
existence of the Jews, and desired only their
continuance as a religious people. Hence he
added so is this people ^{the whole of the preceding} to the poets so is this nation

(24) An illustrative quotation which is a loose
reproduction of Amos 4:9. Nearly all critics
reject it, since it speaks of grain diseases

which does not even mention moisture whereas
the genuine words of the poet refer to a drought
(1:10, 11).

(25) An unnecessary repetition of 15a

(26) Since only grain and wine are mentioned in
verse 16, the addition of figs, pomegranates,
and olive trees appears superfluous to the
seed-grain and grape-vines of the following
verse. Cf. Am. 4:9 - n. on (λ) 67.

(27) A euphemistic appendix to avoid the
ominous conclusion, unbearing

(28), rejected by Hellmansen, Harraek, Marti, Lohm,
and Budde. It cannot refer to the following, the
time from the day when the Temple was founded,
because the foundations of the Temple were
laid shortly after the first of the sixth month
(1:1, 14). Cf. n. (12) to IV. It agrees with the date on
which Poem IV was delivered (2:10) but Haggai
has in mind, rather the day of the founding of the Temple.
So it is entirely out of place here.

Poem V should be considered with Poem IV, as the conditions of Poem V resemble it in most details.
IV. (6-1)

(1) For the Haggaiian authorship of this and the following poems, see above, pp. 444+. This is the only one of Haggai poems which is not preceded by a prose narrative containing the date of its deliverance and other facts in connection with the occasion on which it was presented. The conditions which are pictured in it resemble very much those portrayed in Poem IV, and therefore it must have been contemporaneous with it. Prof. Haupt thinks that these four triplets should be added as the third section to Poem IV (see n. p. 10 IV), whose whole theme is *Have Faith!*, and that if Zech. 5: 9-17 were an independent poem, it would be dated like the other poems of Haggai.

But since these four triplets are found quite detached from the Book of Haggai and contain a complete thought in themselves, it may be sufficient to treat them as an independent poem, as Prof. Haupt does.

For change of meter and strophic arrangement, cf. BL 17, S. 110: 6955

x *Ende*

(6) The internal dissension which is referred to^{here}

and also suggested in vs. 16 f. may have been the

passions that resulted between the sons of the

sons of the sons of the sons, which were the sons of

the sons of the sons of the sons, which were the sons of

the sons of the sons of the sons, which were the sons of

110:4. (see Psalm 20 and 21), the followers of the

label hoped to make him son king and high-priest

after the order of Melchizedek. And the first man

of the order of Melchizedek. And the first man

of the order of Melchizedek. And the first man

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of the order of Melchizedek. And the first man

Now, and be as those who are as the, we! Cf. Gen. 12:2, 13:15, 28:14, 22:15, 26:4, Ps. 72:17. Cf. also ⁱⁿ our own usage, not used as a blessing. Contrast Samaritan. (cited by Haupt). In the preceding years misfortune and poverty had made the name of Jew almost synonymous with anything accursed, but in the future, their good-fortune was to become most evident. Henceforth, and their name would be used as a basis of comparison.

9) For the missing line in the strophic arrangement, for which v. 14a is not suitable, Prof. Haupt supplies a poetic adaptation of Ex. 20:5f, Deut. 5:9f. The poet may well have declared that the God who had been jealous of his people, and who was now manifestly forgiving, among the heathen, foreign influences of the time, and was now forgiving the people, and was now forgiving the people, and was now forgiving the people.

themselves in obeying his wish, that his dwelling-
place be rebuilt

(10) These words bring to mind the very words in
Ezra and Nehemiah, when the preceding
restoration has been taken. They take the place of
the answer which was given to the people's question
concerning the rebuilding of the temple, when the rebuilding
was not the first, but the second, and the first of them was
not the first. They also find a parallel in the last verse
of the theological introduction to the book of Daniel
(1:6). In this v. 14, Haggai evidently had in mind
the conduct of the generation who lived just before
^{The first return, about 538 B.C., and the second, about 520 B.C.}
and at the beginning of the Captivity, about 600 B.C.
The Captivity was regarded by the generation
as a divine punishment for the disobedience of
the preceding generations, who had been repeatedly
warned by the prophets. The return to Jerusalem in
Haggai's time was regarded as the beginning

(11) SNVH is now filled with a disposition to prosper his people.
By the poem contrasts v. 10 with v. 12, v. 13 with v. 14,
the restored text, and v. 14 with v. 15, the poet attempts
to strengthen the hands of the simple builders, and
the community that is supporting them.

(12) If this poem is correctly to be ascribed to SNVH, we
are mistaken who assume that his interest was con-
fined to the narrow program of the reconstruction
of the Temple, and describe his religious conceptions
and hopes as completely ritualistic and pietistic.

Vv. 16 f. and the last line of Poem VI take him out of the
ranks of mere ritualists and place him among the
poet-prophets of Israel, for in these verses he appeals
directly for righteousness, equity, uprightness,
and truth. Though SNVH's Temple is in a fair way to
completion, his favor will not continue if there is
contention in their public life, injustice in their civil
rights, and the people are not united in their
hearts, and endeavor as in speaking truthfully in their

The last section of the story is a story of false accusations among the members of the different parties in the colony. The followers of Josephus had no doubt feeling for the followers of Joshua who were fighting for the Temple. The relation between the Hasmoneans and the Hellenists was a complicated one, and the Hellenists were not always to be trusted. The Hellenists were often persecuted by the Hasmoneans.

VI

(1) In this last poem which is by an accredited prophet (p. 146), he publishes his opinion with regard to a query which was sent by the governor, Zerubbabel, to the priests, concerning the continuance of certain facts of mourning, which had been celebrated since the sad events at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. An historical introduction precedes this poem, which is similar to those before each poem in the Book of Haggai.

(2) Dec. 17, 515 B.C. (For references, see n. 2) to I),
 over two years and three months since the rebuilding of the Temple had begun at the instigation of Haggai. It may be supposed that the work had proceeded steadily, though slowly, by reason of the limited resources of the little colony. In the mean time, the crop-failures had ceased, and some degree

of prosperity, at least of comfortable subsistence must have resulted. This optimistic hope, however, did not prevent the king at the time of the arrest and probable execution of Zerebbabel, when the infants of Babylonia and Syria, came to Jerusalem in the spring of 519 B.C.*

(3) a passage that has been the source of almost endless conjecture which seems to have centered in the word Bethel. Köhler, Duhm, Oréili, Pusey, Henderson et al. identify it with the well known place near Jerusalem and regard it as the subject of the verb sent. Revised Version translates "Now They of Bethel sent" and Mitchell suggests "and the men of Bethel sent". On the other hand, Bethel is regarded as the destination of the embassy, in the Revisions and by David Patrick Bates, Revised Version, et al. G. A. Smith changes Beth-el to Beth-YHWH, house of YHWH, and thus regards it, the temple as the destination

* JBL, 33, 161

As for the disposition of Sharezer, the Septuagint,
and their men, the subjects of sent, but the LXX
and others include it in the distribution.

The most probable solution seems to be the one
adopted by Hollmann, Donald, Walt, Walt and
Walt, who identify the two names Sharezer and
Sharezer, as the two elements of one name, and
make it the subject of the verb. Sharezer, Assy. Šar-
u-ur, as an element of a proper name, is usually
compounded with a subject e.g. Na-bu-Šar-u-ur
(cf. Jer. 39:3, 13), or Na-bu-Šar-u-ur. So in this case
the subject is Na-bu-Šar-u-ur (cf. Jer. 39:3, 13).
But the Sharezer mentioned in Jer. 39:3, 13
is written Ba-ai-ti-ili^a, the Greek Britylos,
according to Walt. It is the identification
of Sharezer and Sharezer seems exceedingly probable in

^x JBL 33, 161. Isaiah (SBOT) 114n. [†] The Expositor, 1897, 5369f.

^a ZAW, 1902, 325. [§] Walt, Walt, ii, 10ff ^{TP} KAT³, 435.

spite of the objection of Mitchell who would keep
the same deal at the same price.

After the Persian satraps of Babylonia and Syria had investigated the rebellion at Jerusalem and deposed Zerubbabel, Bethel-chazzeb was appointed governor in his place.* He was probably a Jew although he bore an Assyrian name, like Zerubbabel. The Septuagint Βαθλ[†] has been found in other proper names among the Elephantine Papyri, and may refer to the Babylonian sanctuary of that name, as well as to the Palestinian Bethel. (4) Not Hagan-melch as the Authorized and Revised Versions both translate it, but an official, allude to the governor who represented the Persian power.

(5) An escort may have been necessary for the protection of the messenger.

6) After the disposal of Zoukhal, the priest is disappointed

^x so Haupt. JBL 33, 161, n.

Cf. ZAT 22, 323; 32, 139. GIB¹⁶96L, KAT 435, Könyv N.B., 470.

The most important thing concerning the fast and of the facts were to be observed. It was of course necessary to inform them.

(7) The Temple was not completed until ^{about} April 1, 516 B.C.*

Hence on Dec. 17, 518 B.C. the priests were properly of, not as in SHVH's House, but as prepared for its occupancy when it would be completed.

(8) The question at issue was the continuance of the fast that the Jews had observed in the fifth month for many years. From Jer. 52:12 f. and 2 K. 25:8 f. we learn that on the tenth (seventh⁺) day of the fifth month, in 586 B.C. the Temple and the houses of Jerusalem were burned by the officer of Babel-chadnezzar, and the city walls were broken down.

* Cf. JBL 33, 161. ⁺ The tenth is probably more correct than the seventh. cf. Jer. 52:4; contrast Bar. 1:2 (Gloss). The Vulgate and a mss. of the Septuagint read in 2 K. 25:8, "on the ninth of the month" and the date given in the Jewish Calendar is the ninth of Ab, the fifth month (cf. EB 1508, EB 1, 754), but the fast is observed on the following day. See Levy's *Palästin. Wörterb.* 2:1.

This date had been observed for the next sixty-eight years as a time of mourning and fasting and self-mortification. The perpetuation of this fast would not be conducive to friendly feelings between the Jews and the Eastern government. Even though Cyrus had destroyed the Temple and had contributed to the reconstruction of the Temple, the Persians were regarded as the successors of the Babylonians. In Ethiopic texts Fares* is used not only for Persia, but also for Babylonia, and Ichshadinos, who is called King of Persia (so Haupt). Similarly the Seleucid Kingdom was afterwards called Babylonian or Assyrian.

At this time, consequently, as the Temple was nearing completion without any known approval of the Persian government, the government objects that the celebration of the destruction of the former Temple cease†. The fact on the first month of the year was made impossible about, because it probably was the only one

* 4CII † Cf. Haupt, *Antiquities of the Jews*, vol. 1, p. 111.

that was strictly observed. Such a suggestion might have been resisted if made a command, and there was doubtless much discussion both among the priests and the people. The priestly party, which among all peoples have usually been conservative in their treatment of religious customs, very probably favored its retention, but Haggai published his opinion in which he advocated the abolishment of not only the fast on the fifth month but also all other fasts which had a similar origin. This expression of his views may be compared to an "open letter" in our modern newspapers.

[9] If the phrase "said I will word to Jeremiah" is to be rejected (See below, n^o on VI.), some similar expression without Zechariah's name would be expected in this prose introduction; cf. Hag. 1:1, 2:1, 10, 20. So here, we may take either Zech. 5: 5 or 6: 10 which are quite identical, but only one of the two can find a place in the text.

(10) It would be more natural for the poet to mention first, the fact that the army was repulsed by the governor's embassy (Je. 7:3). The transposition to the consecutive order of "fourth," "fifth," which is found in the Received Text, probably occurred after the connection between Je. 7:3 and 8:19^a had been lost sight of, by the misplacement of the latter.

(11) On the ninth of the fourth month, 586 B.C., a breach was made in the walls of Jerusalem, and the attacking forces of the Chaldeans entered and took possession.

(Je. 39:28)

(12) It was on the ninth of the fourth month of the fifth year of Zedekiah's reign, 586 B.C., that the breach was made in the walls of Jerusalem, and the people who were permitted to remain in the land, the sons of his enemies murdered him. (Je. 21:25:22-26.)

(13) On the tenth day of the tenth month 585 B.C., the Chaldeans began the siege of Jerusalem, which resulted in the capture of the city in the fifth year of Zedekiah's reign. (Je. 21:25:1.)

(14) He challenges the motives of those who so tenaciously cling to these days of mourning. Their observance of these fasts did not necessarily revolve round Him more to the favor of JHVH. It could just as easily indicate merely an indulgence in a kind of shallow pessimism that many people even today take a peculiar delight in identifying with their religious experience. It might amount in many people only to the yielding to a selfish sorrow for the destruction that had befallen the past year, and add nothing to inspire the people to new efforts.

(15) In their feasts, they ate and drank, not for JHVH's feast, but for themselves, and it seemed as if their fasting was observed in the same spirit since it was immaterial to JHVH, whether they fasted or ate and drank.

(16) Harmony and loyalty were far more important to the poet's mind than fasting; cf. Mic. 6:6-8, Mark 12:33, Ps. 40:7, Is. 1:11-17, Jer. 6:16-20.

(17) These words are repeated by Harnack to the Book of Daniel and Isaiah and correctly so because the phrase is probably interpolated before the date instead of at the usual position after the date; cf. Hg. 1:1, 2:1, 10, 1:15+2:20, Zc. 1:7; (2) the expression to Zechariah, is used for the more usual to me, cf. Zc. 6:4, 8:18 (gloss), 7:4; (3) the following phrase as has been shown above, p. 44^f, must be ascribed to Haggai, not to Zechariah.

(18) added by someone jealous of the priests. The phrase is repeated in the Book of Daniel and by the Book of Isaiah, but probably has been removed but out of the way by the Persians. His successor, therefore would be one whom the Persians could trust not to treat with those who had favored Zerubbabel, among whom were Haggai and others. Mitchell questions the phrase because the priests alone are mentioned in v. 5.

Critical Notes.

In the following pages, these abbreviations are used:

- Λ = omits, omitted by; + = add, added by; || = parallel;
(G) = Septuagint; (M) = Masoretic Text; (T) = Targum;
(S) = 'eshetts; (V) = Vulgate; (L) = Old Latin; (A) = Aramaic
A = André, de Prophète 1916; Bö = Böhm, Die Propheten
und Saggi, ZAW, 7, 1; B = Budde, Zum Text der drei
letzten kleinen Propheten ZAW 21; C = Cheyne,
Critical Bible, ii; de D = de Dieu, Critica Sacra 1893;
Dri = Driver, (LOT- Literature of the Old Testament);
Dr = Driver, The Prophecy of Isaiah XII 1891;
D = Driver, The Prophecy of Isaiah ZAW, 21;
E = Ehrlich, Die Propheten, Randglossen 11.13
Enc. Bib = Encyclopaedia Biblica, 1899-1902;
EB = Encyclopaedia Britannica 1911; En = Ewald
Propheten des Alten Testaments 1868; GK = Gesenius-
Kautzsch, Hebrew Grammar (1884); Gr = Græcous, Grammaticae
ad Veter Testamentum 1844; HD = Hildner, Die Propheten

H=Haupt, The Vision of Zechariah, JBL 37, 107-114; The Inauguration of the Second Temple, JBL 33, 161 ff; Psalm 110, AJSL 23, 232; Note on Psalm 110.3, HNC, No 114, p 114-1; Adar and Ebel, ZDMG 64, 192-214; Curran, Leipzig, 1906, ^{IV}; and ZDMG 64); Esther, AJSL 24, 126 ff, 171; Joch., Act of the 6. Congress. ; Editorial notes on SBLT. Ezra and Nehemiah, Isaiah; Hd=Henderson, The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets (1888); H=Hitzig, Die zwölf kleinen Propheten, Hb. Hebr., Die Propheten p 332-347 (1814); H=Hornaker, Les douze petits prophetes (1805); Jochabel et le second temple (1872); H=Hornaker, Notre culte en son temps des Veteris Testamenti libros (1777); Ka=Kautzsch, Die heilige Schrift des AT, 3rd ed. 1910; K=Kleinmann, Geschichte des Volkes Israel; K=Mittels, Publica Biblica; K=Mittels, Die hebräischen Propheten; M=Martin, Les douze prophetes; M=Matthaei, Agg. 1.2.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31.32.33.34.35.36.37.38.39.40.41.42.43.44.45.46.47.48.49.50.51.52.53.54.55.56.57.58.59.60.61.62.63.64.65.66.67.68.69.70.71.72.73.74.75.76.77.78.79.80.81.82.83.84.85.86.87.88.89.90.91.92.93.94.95.96.97.98.99.100.101.102.103.104.105.106.107.108.109.110.111.112.113.114.115.116.117.118.119.120.121.122.123.124.125.126.127.128.129.130.131.132.133.134.135.136.137.138.139.140.141.142.143.144.145.146.147.148.149.150.151.152.153.154.155.156.157.158.159.160.161.162.163.164.165.166.167.168.169.170.171.172.173.174.175.176.177.178.179.180.181.182.183.184.185.186.187.188.189.190.191.192.193.194.195.196.197.198.199.200.201.202.203.204.205.206.207.208.209.210.211.212.213.214.215.216.217.218.219.220.221.222.223.224.225.226.227.228.229.230.231.232.233.234.235.236.237.238.239.240.241.242.243.244.245.246.247.248.249.250.251.252.253.254.255.256.257.258.259.260.261.262.263.264.265.266.267.268.269.270.271.272.273.274.275.276.277.278.279.280.281.282.283.284.285.286.287.288.289.290.291.292.293.294.295.296.297.298.299.300.301.302.303.304.305.306.307.308.309.310.311.312.313.314.315.316.317.318.319.320.321.322.323.324.325.326.327.328.329.330.331.332.333.334.335.336.337.338.339.340.341.342.343.344.345.346.347.348.349.350.351.352.353.354.355.356.357.358.359.360.361.362.363.364.365.366.367.368.369.370.371.372.373.374.375.376.377.378.379.380.381.382.383.384.385.386.387.388.389.390.391.392.393.394.395.396.397.398.399.400.401.402.403.404.405.406.407.408.409.410.411.412.413.414.415.416.417.418.419.420.421.422.423.424.425.426.427.428.429.430.431.432.433.434.435.436.437.438.439.440.441.442.443.444.445.446.447.448.449.450.451.452.453.454.455.456.457.458.459.460.461.462.463.464.465.466.467.468.469.470.471.472.473.474.475.476.477.478.479.480.481.482.483.484.485.486.487.488.489.490.491.492.493.494.495.496.497.498.499.500.501.502.503.504.505.506.507.508.509.510.511.512.513.514.515.516.517.518.519.520.521.522.523.524.525.526.527.528.529.530.531.532.533.534.535.536.537.538.539.540.541.542.543.544.545.546.547.548.549.550.551.552.553.554.555.556.557.558.559.560.561.562.563.564.565.566.567.568.569.570.571.572.573.574.575.576.577.578.579.580.581.582.583.584.585.586.587.588.589.590.591.592.593.594.595.596.597.598.599.600.601.602.603.604.605.606.607.608.609.610.611.612.613.614.615.616.617.618.619.620.621.622.623.624.625.626.627.628.629.630.631.632.633.634.635.636.637.638.639.640.641.642.643.644.645.646.647.648.649.650.651.652.653.654.655.656.657.658.659.660.661.662.663.664.665.666.667.668.669.670.671.672.673.674.675.676.677.678.679.680.681.682.683.684.685.686.687.688.689.690.691.692.693.694.695.696.697.698.699.700.701.702.703.704.705.706.707.708.709.710.711.712.713.714.715.716.717.718.719.720.721.722.723.724.725.726.727.728.729.730.731.732.733.734.735.736.737.738.739.740.741.742.743.744.745.746.747.748.749.750.751.752.753.754.755.756.757.758.759.760.761.762.763.764.765.766.767.768.769.770.771.772.773.774.775.776.777.778.779.780.781.782.783.784.785.786.787.788.789.790.791.792.793.794.795.796.797.798.799.800.801.802.803.804.805.806.807.808.809.810.811.812.813.814.815.816.817.818.819.820.821.822.823.824.825.826.827.828.829.830.831.832.833.834.835.836.837.838.839.840.841.842.843.844.845.846.847.848.849.850.851.852.853.854.855.856.857.858.859.860.861.862.863.864.865.866.867.868.869.870.871.872.873.874.875.876.877.878.879.880.881.882.883.884.885.886.887.888.889.890.891.892.893.894.895.896.897.898.899.900.901.902.903.904.905.906.907.908.909.910.911.912.913.914.915.916.917.918.919.920.921.922.923.924.925.926.927.928.929.930.931.932.933.934.935.936.937.938.939.940.941.942.943.944.945.946.947.948.949.950.951.952.953.954.955.956.957.958.959.960.961.962.963.964.965.966.967.968.969.970.971.972.973.974.975.976.977.978.979.980.981.982.983.984.985.986.987.988.989.990.991.992.993.994.995.996.997.998.999.1000.1001.1002.1003.1004.1005.1006.1007.1008.1009.1010.1011.1012.1013.1014.1015.1016.1017.1018.1019.1020.1021.1022.1023.1024.1025.1026.1027.1028.1029.1030.1031.1032.1033.1034.1035.1036.1037.1038.1039.1040.1041.1042.1043.1044.1045.1046.1047.1048.1049.1050.1051.1052.1053.1054.1055.1056.1057.1058.1059.1060.1061.1062.1063.1064.1065.1066.1067.1068.1069.1070.1071.1072.1073.1074.1075.1076.1077.1078.1079.1080.1081.1082.1083.1084.1085.1086.1087.1088.1089.1090.1091.1092.1093.1094.1095.1096.1097.1098.1099.1100.1101.1102.1103.1104.1105.1106.1107.1108.1109.1110.1111.1112.1113.1114.1115.1116.1117.1118.1119.1120.1121.1122.1123.1124.1125.1126.1127.1128.1129.1130.1131.1132.1133.1134.1135.1136.1137.1138.1139.1140.1141.1142.1143.1144.1145.1146.1147.1148.1149.1150.1151.1152.1153.1154.1155.1156.1157.1158.1159.1160.1161.1162.1163.1164.1165.1166.1167.1168.1169.1170.1171.1172.1173.1174.1175.1176.1177.1178.1179.1180.1181.1182.1183.1184.1185.1186.1187.1188.1189.1190.1191.1192.1193.1194.1195.1196.1197.1198.1199.1200.1201.1202.1203.1204.1205.1206.1207.1208.1209.1210.1211.1212.1213.1214.1215.1216.1217.1218.1219.1220.1221.1222.1223.1224.1225.1226.1227.1228.1229.1230.1231.1232.1233.1234.1235.1236.1237.1238.1239.1240.1241.1242.1243.1244.1245.1246.1247.1248.1249.1250.1251.1252.1253.1254.1255.1256.1257.1258.1259.1260.1261.1262.1263.1264.1265.1266.1267.1268.1269.1270.1271.1272.1273.1274.1275.1276.1277.1278.1279.1280.1281.1282.1283.1284.1285.1286.1287.1288.1289.1290.1291.1292.1293.1294.1295.1296.1297.1298.1299.1300.1301.1302.1303.1304.1305.1306.1307.1308.1309.1310.1311.1312.1313.1314.1315.1316.1317.1318.1319.1320.1321.1322.1323.1324.1325.1326.1327.1328.1329.1330.1331.1332.1333.1334.1335.1336.1337.1338.1339.1340.1341.1342.1343.1344.1345.1346.1347.1348.1349.1350.1351.1352.1353.1354.1355.1356.1357.1358.1359.1360.1361.1362.1363.1364.1365.1366.1367.1368.1369.1370.1371.1372.1373.1374.1375.1376.1377.1378.1379.1380.1381.1382.1383.1384.1385.1386.1387.1388.1389.1390.1391.1392.1393.1394.1395.1396.1397.1398.1399.1400.1401.1402.1403.1404.1405.1406.1407.1408.1409.1410.1411.1412.1413.1414.1415.1416.1417.1418.1419.1420.1421.1422.1423.1424.1425.1426.1427.1428.1429.1430.1431.1432.1433.1434.1435.1436.1437.1438.1439.1440.1441.1442.1443.1444.1445.1446.1447.1448.1449.1450.1451.1452.1453.1454.1455.1456.1457.1458.1459.1460.1461.1462.1463.1464.1465.1466.1467.1468.1469.1470.1471.1472.1473.1474.1475.1476.1477.1478.1479.1480.1481.1482.1483.1484.1485.1486.1487.1488.1489.1490.1491.1492.1493.1494.1495.1496.1497.1498.1499.1500.1501.1502.1503.1504.1505.1506.1507.1508.1509.1510.1511.1512.1513.1514.1515.1516.1517.1518.1519.1520.1521.1522.1523.1524.1525.1526.1527.1528.1529.1530.1531.1532.1533.1534.1535.1536.1537.1538.1539.1540.1541.1542.1543.1544.1545.1546.1547.1548.1549.1550.1551.1552.1553.1554.1555.1556.1557.1558.1559.1560.1561.1562.1563.1564.1565.1566.1567.1568.1569.1570.1571.1572.1573.1574.1575.1576.1577.1578.1579.1580.1581.1582.1583.1584.1585.1586.1587.1588.1589.1590.1591.1592.1593.1594.1595.1596.1597.1598.1599.1600.1601.1602.1603.1604.1605.1606.1607.1608.1609.1610.1611.1612.1613.1614.1615.1616.1617.1618.1619.1620.1621.1622.1623.1624.1625.1626.1627.1628.1629.1630.1631.1632.1633.1634.1635.1636.1637.1638.1639.1640.1641.1642.1643.1644.1645.1646.1647.1648.1649.1650.1651.1652.1653.1654.1655.1656.1657.1658.1659.1660.1661.1662.1663.1664.1665.1666.1667.1668.1669.1670.1671.1672.1673.1674.1675.1676.1677.1678.1679.1680.1681.1682.1683.1684.1685.1686.1687.1688.1689.1690.1691.1692.1693.1694.1695.1696.1697.1698.1699.1700.1701.1702.1703.1704.1705.1706.1707.1708.1709.1710.1711.1712.1713.1714.1715.1716.1717.1718.1719.1720.1721.1722.1723.1724.1725.1726.1727.1728.1729.1730.1731.1732.1733.1734.1735.1736.1737.1738.1739.1740.1741.1742.1743.1744.1745.1746.1747.1748.1749.1750.1751.1752.1753.1754.1755.1756.1757.1758.1759.1760.1761.1762.1763.1764.1765.1766.1767.1768.1769.1770.1771.1772.1773.1774.1775.1776.1777.1778.1779.1780.1781.1782.1783.1784.1785.1786.1787.1788.1789.1790.1791.1792.1793.1794.1795.1796.1797.1798.1799.1800.1801.1802.1803.1804.1805.1806.1807.1808.1809.1810.1811.1812.1813.1814.1815.1816.1817.1818.1819.1820.1821.1822.1823.1824.1825.1826.1827.1828.1829.1830.1831.1832.1833.1834.1835.1836.1837.1838.1839.1840.1841.1842.1843.1844.1845.1846.1847.1848.1849.1850.1851.1852.1853.1854.1855.1856.1857.1858.1859.1860.1861.1862.1863.1864.1865.1866.1867.1868.1869.1870.1871.1872.1873.1874.1875.1876.1877.1878.1879.1880.1881.1882.1883.1884.1885.1886.1887.1888.1889.1890.1891.1892.1893.1894.1895.1896.1897.1898.1899.1900.1901.1902.1903.1904.1905.1906.1907.1908.1909.1910.1911.1912.1913.1914.1915.1916.1917.1918.1919.1920.1921.1922.1923.1924.1925.1926.1927.1928.1929.1930.1931.1932.1933.1934.1935.1936.1937.1938.1939.1940.1941.1942.1943.1944.1945.1946.1947.1948.1949.1950.1951.1952.1953.1954.1955.1956.1957.1958.1959.1960.1961.1962.1963.1964.1965.1966.1967.1968.1969.1970.1971.1972.1973.1974.1975.1976.1977.1978.1979.1980.1981.1982.1983.1984.1985.1986.1987.1988.1989.1990.1991.1992.1993.1994.1995.1996.1997.1998.1999.2000.2001.2002.2003.2004.2005.2006.2007.2008.2009.2010.2011.2012.2013.2014.2015.2016.2017.2018.2019.2020.2021.2022.2023.2024.2025.2026.2027.2028.2029.2030.2031.2032.2033.2034.2035.2036.2037.2038.2039.2040.2041.2042.2043.2044.2045.2046.2047.2048.2049.2050.2051.2052.2053.2054.2055.2056.2057.2058.2059.2060.2061.2062.2063.2064.2065.2066.2067.2068.2069.2070.2071.2072.2073.2074.2075.2076.2077.2078.2079.2080.2081.2082.2083.2084.2085.2086.2087.2088.2089.2090.2091.2092.2093.2094.2095.2096.2097.2098.2099.2100.2101.2102.2103.2104.2105.2106.2107.2108.2109.2110.2111.2112.2113.2114.2115.2116.2117.2118.2119.2120.2121.2122.2123.2124.2125.2126.2127.2128.2129.2130.2131.2132.2133.2134.2135.2136.2137.2138.2139.2140.2141.2142.2143.2144.2145.2146.2147.2148.2149.2150.2151.2152.2153.2154.2155.2156.2157.2158.2159.2160.2161.2162.2163.2164.2165.2166.2167.2168.2169.2170.2171.2172.2173.2174.2175.2176.2177.2178.2179.2180.2181.2182.2183.2184.2185.2186.2187.2188.2189.2190.2191.2192.2193.2194.2195.2196.2197.2198.2199.2200.2201.2202.2203.2204.2205.2206.2207.2208.2209.2210.2211.2212.2213.2214.2215.2216.2217.2218.2219.2220.2221.2222.2223.2224.2225.2226.2227.2228.2229.2230.2231.2232.2233.2234.2235.2236.2237.2238.2239.2240.2241.2242.2243.2244.2245.2246.2247.2248.2249.2250.2251.2252.2253.2254.2255.2256.2257.2258.2259.2260.2261.2262.2263.2264.2265.2266.2267.2268.2269.2270.2271.2272.2273.2274.2275.2276.2277.2278.2279.2280.2281.2282.2283.2284.2285.2286.2287.2288.2289.2290.2291.2292.2293.2294.2295.2296.2297.2298.2299.2300.2301.2302.2303.2304.2305.2306.2307.2308.2309.2310.2311.2312.2313.2314.2315.2316.2317.2318.2319.2320.2321.2322.2323.2324.2325.2326.2327.2328.2329.2330.2331.2332.2333.2334.2335.2336.2337.2338.2339.2340.2341.2342.2343.2344.2345.2346.2347.2348.2349.2350.2351.2352.2353.2354.2355.2356.2357.2358.2359.2360.2361.2362.2363.2364.2365.2366.2367.2368.2369.2370.2371.2372.2373.2374.2375.2376.2377.2378.2379.2380.2381.2382.2383.2384.2385.2386.2387.2388.2389.2390.2391.2392.2393.2394.2395.2396.2397.2398.2399.2400.2401.2402.2403.2404.2405.2406.2407.2408.2409.2410.2411.2412.2413.2414.2415.2416.2417.2418.2419.2420.2421.2422.2423.2424.2425.2426.2427.2428.2429.2430.2431.2432.2433.2434.2435.2436.2437.2438.2439.2440.2441.2442.2443.2444.2445.2446.2447.2448.2449.2450.2451.2452.2453.2454.2455.2456.2457.2458.2459.2460.2461.2462.2463.2464.2465.2466.2467.2468.2469.2470.2471.2472.2473.2474.2475.2476.2477.2478.2479.2480.2481.2482.2483.2484.2485.2486.2487.2488.2489.2490.2491.2492.2493.2494.2495.2496.2497.2498.2499.2500.2501.2502.2503.2504.2505.2506.2507.2508.2509.2510.2511.2512.2513.2514.2515.2516.2517.2518.2519.2520.2521.2522.2523.2524.2525.2526.2527.2528.2529.2530.2531.2532.2533.2534.2535.2536.2537.2538.2539.2540.2541.2542.2543.2544.2545.2546.2547.2548.2549.2550.2551.2552.2553.2554.2555.2556.2557.2558.2559.2560.2561.2562.2563.2564.2565.2566.2567.2568.2569.2570.2571.2572.2573.2574.2575.2576.2577.2578.2579.2580.2581.2582.2583.2584.2585.2586.2587.2588.2589.2590.

Kleinen Propheten; Der Prophet

Haggas (1868); S = Sievers, Miscellen 10 (1877) p. 3ff;

Metrische Studien I (1901); S^{GA} = G.A. Smith, The Book

of the Twelve Minor Prophets (Expositor's Bible);

St St = Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel; W = Wellhausen,

Die kleinen Propheten (Sagen und Geschichte) (1895);

Ma = March, Commentarius in duodecim Prophetas Haggon

Im Israel. Lehrbuch der altreligionsgeschichte 10;

Re = Reuss, Das Alte Testament; Mau = Maurer, Commen-

tarius -- in vetus Testamentum ii (1840)

In the Versions, the poet's name appears as ^{אֶפְרַיִם}, ^{أفرايم}, ^{Ἀφραϊμ}, ^{Aggareus}. The Hebrew name is derived from the verbum mediae geminatae, ^{אפפ}, (See GK, paradigm G) to dance, which Morgenstern^x suggests, is to be derived in turn from the verb ^{אפ} to be round. The noun ^{אפ} meant originally a round dance, then, a festival. Other Hebrew names, derived from the same root are: ^{אפ} the name given to a son of Gad, in Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:15; ^{אפפ}, the name borne by one of David's wives, in 2 S. 3:4, 1 K. 1:5, 11, 2:13, 1 Ch. 3:2; ^{אפפ}, the name by which the eighth descendant of the line of Levi was known, in 1 Ch. 6:15, 29. The consonants of the poet's name are found, as a name ^{אפפ}, in a Phoenician burial inscription*. Altho the exact form of the name is not found in the OT in any place outside of his book and Ezra 5:1, 6:14, where the same prophet is undoubtedly referred to,

^x JAOS, 36, 323

⁺ CIS, 67, 1. tome I, 83

The name was not an uncommon one among the Jews. It is found in the Talmud*. It is borne by approximately a dozen different persons mentioned in the Elephantine Papyri. Indeed, it is exceeded in frequency in these Papyri, only by the names, Hosea, Meshulam, and perhaps Nathan and Shalon. In the form Ha-a-ag-ga-a it is found twice in the Muraššî Contract Tablets.

Heller† and Tusey believe that the form אגגא is a contraction of the form אגגאגא, = festival of SHVH, the name of a descendant of Levi. W. R. Smith‡ and W. consider it a contraction of אגגאגא = SHVH both girded, just as Zaccar (Zaccharus) is a contraction of Zechariah||, a shortened petname.

* Cf. Levy, Nh. u. C. W. II, 14. † Onomasticum Sacrum (1706) p. 262.

‡ Art. Haggai in E. B. ¶ Bleek's Einleitung, 4th ed. p. 431

|| Cf. JADS 22, 101: BA. 3, 566.

Coercius* and P. Lysen† took it to be the substantive in the plural with the possessive suffix of the first person singular, its meaning being my feasts. The correct explanation may be that the form is adjectival (cf. GK § 2 (i)‡) and means festal. K. gives a number of similar names, among them, שְׁמִי תַּלְמִי בְּרֵזְלִי מִסָּחִי שְׁלִמִי. Daiches || regards it as a "mixed name", i.e., being Hebrew in its outer covering, and Babylonian in content. He believes that it means Born-on-a-feast-day, — even the adjectival ending ai (more correctly â'a according to Haupt) being Babylonian —, since the Babylonians were accustomed to name a child after its birthday. He cites the parallel name Isinnai = The Festal.

Because of the meaning, festal, A suggests

* To Δωδεκαπρόφητον (1652), p. 445

† Collectiones..... in prophetæ minores (1709) p. 1000 ‡ Cf. ZDMG 63, 520, l. 11.

§ Nach. Pro. p. 2.

|| OLT II, col. 276 f

that the word is simply a title which is given to an anonymous work, as 'Malachi', messenger is applied to the last book in the minor Prophets. He thinks that "Haggai," festal, was selected for this prophecy because several of the dates mentioned in it fall on feast days. In 1:1, the first of the sixth month was a new moon festival and in 2:1, the twenty first of the seventh month would be the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles. (See n. 1 on III) and in 2:18 a date is mentioned in association with the foundation of the Temple. But the date in 2:18 (See n. 1 on IV) is very probably a later insertion, and incorrect; no notice is taken in the records of the festal character of the first two dates; and the other dates in 1:15, 2:10 have no known festal associations. So there is very little ground for agreeing with the hypothesis of A.

X

(1,1) ביום \wedge (GS), so Mi.

לאמר אמר \wedge (M), so B Mi; but + (GA); cf. II in 2:20 (ב), 2:1,2 (ב), 2:10 (ד); no DHMNSWSm.

For $\text{חַה} \text{ (G)} = \text{ἐκ φυλῆς}$, of the tribe of, evidently an attempt to see in the strange word, some form related to the more familiar חַהשפּח . To the same influence may be due the insertion of חַה in (D). $\text{חַה} = \text{Ass. } \underline{\text{bēl}} \underline{\text{pixāte}}$, lord of a district,

(1) חַה בַּא עַה as pointed in (M) cannot be read intelligently although RV KE K Ma support it and translate it. It is not a time (for us) to come, the time etc. (all the versions translate the passage; The time has not (D, yet) come. AV Dr Hd change the pointing חַה for חַה and read the time — not come, the time etc. Oort reads חַה בַּא עַה , the time is not yet come. Mi follows the translation of the versions by omitting the first חַה and reading חַה for חַה . A proposes חַה בַּא עַה , the time has not

come (+ nota acc. before the following בית). E suggests that for צא עת, we read בנוה, and strike out לה בנוה. He would translate לא as not yet. S strikes out the בא. But the first עת should be pointed עֵת (cf. Ps. 74:6) and צא should be צֵא, whose subject is the following עֵת. This solution preserves all the consonants in (M), but points them differently, and affords a translation that is supported by the version. It is so read by H Hi M N S^{GA} W.

For העת לכם (T) = הכדין כשר לכון, is it thus fitting for you etc. (S) inserts חסן, this.

אתם lends added emphasis, GK 135g. Hb. transfers it to a position after בתיכם; so (GS).

For ספונים (G) = κοιλοσταθμοις, conceave; (A) = سَفُونِيَّة.

; (L) - caulatis, ceiled; (V) = laqueatis, panelled; (T) uses a circumlocution, די מוטללין, which are roofed with planks of cedar; (S) - כִּי מַלְלִים, on which are roofs. The word is a passive participial form of the verb

ספר, to cover and means sheltered, covered, roofed
places, not panelled.

(ii) For **שימו**, (G) = $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\Theta\epsilon$, here as in 2:15 but in 1:5,
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ and in 2:18 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$.

לבבכם, for לבביכם as all versions show. Cf. GK §124r.
So also in every other place it occurs in the book.

For **פנה** (GK §113aa-ff) E suggests פִּנָּה , make room - cf. Gen. 24:3

For **והנה** (G^TSA) = והיה (G^A = והיו). The following ל before
 לצעט and the construction in 2:16 leads BDDr Ki MN

SS^GW to read והיה after the versions. But V has

ענה (= הנה) and there is no sufficient reason to

change it as Mi points out by citing its use with ל

in Gen. 18:9, for היה . Cf. GK §147b. Baer cites Codd.

Curtisianus and Erfurtensis 1, 2, 3, and Jamanensis

and Petropolitani for והנה . B^A **ל** also, but the ל is

emphatic, = Assy lû , Arab J, verily, see Oriental

Studies (Boston 1894) p. 264, n. 3; cf. GK §143, e; §114, i, n. 1;

GB¹⁶ 372^a, 8^c. 374^a ל א ad fin.; 351^b, c. ad fin.; JBL 29, 104;

and 35, 289, below. לצעט = our "precious little"

For **והבאתם הבית** read **והבאתם ביתה**; **הבית** is due to the **הבית** in the preceding verse (v.8). There are a number of passages where we find a prefixed **ה** instead of the affixed **ה** and on the other hand, according to H, in Ez. 47:15 we find **ל' הצפון לפאת צפונה** instead of **ל' הצפון**; similarly at the end of v.18, **את פאת קדימה** instead of **פ' הקדים**; cf. also the end of v.19.

והבאתם is conditional, GK § 159g. So Maurer Ew. Hi.

אני שלח ביה מארתא (D) is correctly interpreted by **נפחתי בו**.

I cast upon it a curse. H points out a number of parallels where **נפח** and other words meaning 'blowing' or 'breath' may mean 'curse' or 'destruction'. In Job 4:9 AV has 'blast' for **נשמת אלוה** and RV has 'blast' for **נפח**. Elsewhere **נפח** = 'wrath' in Jer. 8:3; Is. 25:4; 30:28; Zech. 6:8; Prov. 16:32, 29:11. Cf. **קא** - 'heavy breathing' and also 'wrath'. Syr. **ܩܠܐ** means 'to be blown upon' or 'away' and also 'to be blasted': e.g. **ܩܠܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ**, 'his strength shall be blasted'. H further refers to the story of Haddon at the Boudoirs Camp, in the

Arabian Nights where we read that the spirit,
the slave of the lamp, breathes in the ear of the grand
vizier, who is to be married to the princess, so that he
is paralyzed. See our Hall's translation, vol. 3, p. 105.

وقبل أن يخرج نفخ عليه نفخة يبسه بها وصار
حاله أن الوزير بالويل

[†] "But before leaving him, the slave blew upon (the
bridegroom) a blast (so cold that) it shrivelled
him and the plight of the Hazer's son became
pitious". Both M and Mi in favoring some
similar idea in this expression quote a superstition
of the Arabs which is mentioned by L. Bauer (MNDPV, 1899, 9)
"It is in the highest degree disagreeable to Moslems
if any one whistles over a threshing floor or a pile
with grain. Then comes the devil, they say, in the
night and takes part of the harvest".

For the נפח in נפחתי בר (Pat. afflare) cf. JBL 32, 112, n. 19.

[†] Arabic text, H. Zoltenberg, Paris, 1888, p. 37

[†] Translation of Burton, Supplemental Nights, vol. 3, p. 115.

(iii) For **נאם ניה יען** (G) = διὰ τοῦτ' ἃς λέγει κυριος
Therefore thus says JHVH. So also (LA). S adds **אם**, these
things. But as K points out, there is a pause after
ניה יען which is the direct object of the following **נאם**.
JHVH raises the question about the reason for the
conditions described in the preceding lines.

ניה for **נה** is attributed in GK § 37f to the fact that it is
at a greater distance from the principal tone of the
sentence and is not before a guttural, but K thinks
it is due to the influence of the preceding preposition
after the analogy of **במה**, **כמה**. Cf **נהל** in Is 1:5, 2:10:13.
(Cf also GK § 102K. For **נה** = **נה**, cf. **נה** = **נח**, **נה** = **נח**, **נה** = **נח**;
See JSOR 1, 43

צבאות (S), followed by St

רצים. (G) = διώκετε, ye are seeking. E also finds this
meaning in **רצים**, as in Is. 40:31 and Berachoth 28b.
C. reads **רצים**, industrious. M prefers to follow with
רצים instead of **רצים** (M). before **רצים** but (M) is correct, Each
running for his house, i.e. for the benefit of his house.
Cf. **רצים**. ASS 24, 116. For **רצים**, to be zealous, cf. Is 59:7, Prov. 1:16; 6:18 (GB¹⁶ p. 27).

(11) For **על-כן** (M) = על-כן עליכם but (GAL) עליכם. (T) =
על-כן בדיל חוביכון, therefore, on account of your sins.
(S) עלי-כן and (V) supports (M) which is also followed
by BSt. But WE SDMMiH strike out עליכם. It origi-
nated as a gloss after ואקד in v. 11 and was later
transferred because of its resemblance to על-כן
שמים The versions supply the definite article which
is omitted by (M). (Kern. 150 has השמים). So also WMMi
For **טלם** (M) (M'GSA) read טל which is defended by ASEw
in a partitive sense, and by deDKN, in a privative
sense. But כל usually takes a direct object without
an intervening preposition. Cf. gloss (7). W reads טל
Mif follows the proposal of Trinius, who by changing
the final ל into ר, reads טר, rain. This accords
with (T) which reads טל אקדא - from sending rain.
E simply strikes out the preposition, but BMNH
adopt the form found in the parallel passage of
Zech. 8:12. טלם.

For **ואקד** (G) = ואקד and is not being

בָּרַח. (G) πομφήριον. (S) ~~سيف~~ A ~~سيف~~ L) gladium.
show that the translators of the unpointed
Hebrew text have mistaken בָּרַח brought for
בָּרַח sword, but following v. 10, of course. בָּרַח (MTV)
must be correct.

Read על־הָרִים וְהָרִים על־הָרִים for על־הָרִים וְהָרִים of (M) and the
versions, in order to make a stronger poetical
expression; so H. וְעַל־הָרִים L) and a few (G) cursives
and Kenn. 150.

For על־ (M) in both instances in the last line of iv
read ^{and so is} על־, its poetic form, since each must bear
a full beat. cf. GK § 103, 0. <sup>use the 3rd
emphatic</sup>

(v) For על־הָרִים, (G^B) = ἀναβήτε εἰς τὸ ὄρος, go up to the
mountain and (G^{Ac. b. AQ}) has ἐπὶ for εἰς. But Mi
suggests it is not necessary to express this prepo-
sition in Hebrew. Cf. (G) and (M) for Ex. 17:10. Lt. 3:27.
The other versions have the preposition but this is in
accord with their respective idiomatic usage with
regard to the verbs which are used. Mikha'el prefers

to insert על after עלו, since it is found in (M) of
Kern. 1.

For **והבאתם** MTSV read **ובראתם** (GAL) since it is
easier to account for the corruption of **ובראתם** into
והבאתם. B follows (GL) which has both. E retains (M).

For **וארצה בו ואכבד** (T) has **ואתרעי לאשראה שכנתי ביה ביקר**
and it will please me to place my majesty in it in
glory.

The Ketib in the Biblia Hebraica, to **ואכבד** is
ואַפְבְּדָּ, and in Baer's text it is **ואַפְבְּדָּ** for which he
cites Cod. Samaritensis, also Complut. (Amias Blodius
Reineccius Majus and Opitius. He also points to
Ex. 14:47 where **ואַפְבְּדָּ** is found. Rashi (tractate
Yoma, 21b.) says that the omission of the π (=5) is a
reminder that there were five things omitted in
the second sanctuary that were in the first. -
the ark and covering, the cherubs, the shekinah,
the Holy Spirit, and the Urim and Thummim.
This explains the omission of the final π in the Ketib.

by the ^{initial} א of the following אבא but the suggestion
of H is much better, that the final א was omitted
because אבא in pause was pronounced
אבא. GKZ 40, 9. (cf. LXX: BBT) 10:3; also 2:22; Is 26:15

Ⓢ + Ⓢ = 17 which is dittography of the preceding 17
but is favored by Hb. The remainder of the verse is
rejected by HS.

(Ⓢ^{אבא}) א from καὶ Ἰησοῦς = יהושע (v.12) to ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα = של תיאל פחת יהודה (v.14). This omission
includes v.13. B^o regards v.13 as an interpolation
whose second half originated from 2:4. S rejects
13b but inserts 13a between v.8 and 12. B holds
that 13b has preserved an extract of a lost con-
clusion which he postulates after v.11. K^o.

defends the verse and D retains it by associating
it with v.12 as a distinct verse separate from v.12a.

But in agreement with B^o's rejection of 1 are A W
M N S^{GA} Mi C and B^antsch (cf. Schreier, 100 AT, 19 bef. p. 71.)

The use of יהושע for the usual אבא shows

that n. 13a at least must be attributed to another than H. 13. For the proposal that some conclusion should follow v. 11. This concluding triplet H. finds in vv. 8, 13b.

ח.י. (M) יהודה (S) צבאות (S)
ס. יהודה (M), add צבאות (S)
(1,12)

For רישמוח Kautzsch sufficient reasons are given. רישמוח, so in 1:14, 2:2, but in 1:1, 2:20, שאלתיאל. The two forms were pronounced the same. Cf. AJS L 26, 206 שאלתיאל, read *šēlām* and p. 214f. מאור שאל = מאור שאל, and מלך שאל = מלך שאל. Cf. also JAW 34, 231, l. 3 and JBL 35, 283.

פחת יהודה (M). + (GAL). Cf. ||s in 1:1, 14. 2:2. (A) has the relation שאל, between the name and the title here, and מלך שאל (also in v. 12) for the more usual שאל of 1:1, 2:2, 21.

For the omission of 12b, 13, 14a in G^{XAQT}, see above, under (v). This is evidently the mistake of a copyist. His eye passed from the names of Zerubbabel and Joshua in v. 12 to the same names in v. 14.

בְּקוֹל For use of β in position 2 after וישמע , see GK 119h.
 (1,14) For כל שארית העם , $(\text{GVL}) = \text{שארית כל העם}$. $(\text{G}^{\text{XO}})_\Lambda$ כל.

But if the // in v.12 is correct, these variants in the versions, in v.14 have no importance.

In אלהיהם (T) omits the personal suffix.

(α) לאמר $(\text{G}^{\text{AS}})_\Lambda$

(β) v3 is rejected as secondary by BDKiMiNS; retained by HiNM. It is a useless repetition of v1a² and if it were in place here, the poet's name would not be used for the first personal pronoun.

(γ) In בה־כֶּם , $(\text{G}^{\text{AQX}^{\text{ca}} \text{TAVL}})_\Lambda$ the pronominal suffix.

If the word were genuine בה־כֶּם would be the form preferred (so B.Mi. Dori) because the following

ספונים does not have the article, as the KEM and GK 118p regard ספונים as an adverbial accusative.

(δ) For הָזָה $(\text{G}^{\text{B}}) = \text{ἔμπροσθεν}$, but all other cods of G and the rest of the versions support (M).

(ε) הִבָּא . The infinitive absolute may appear as the substitute for a finite verb when it serves as the

continuation of a preceding finite verb. GK § 113y.

The same construction follows in שָׁבוּ, אָכַל, שָׁבוּ

(a tertiary gloss), and שָׁבוּ.

~~For~~ ^{לְשָׁבוּ לְמַעַן מְשַׁבְּחָהּ} ~~לְשָׁבוּ~~ (M) = ~~לְשָׁבוּ~~ ^{לְשָׁבוּ} which in GK § 45d is regarded

as a feminine infinitive construct; likewise the

לְשָׁבוּ in the tertiary gloss that follows. But since

in the second hemistich, which has a parallel

construction, the לְ is followed by a noun (סֵם), it

may be well here to substitute the noun שָׁבוּ, satiety

by simply omitting the final ה and repointing

the remaining consonants.

For the impersonal use of לְ, see GK § 144, f.

Ⓔ has for it, Ἐν αὐτοῖς and Ⓓ. לְהוֹן

Read ~~וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר~~ with Kenn. 150 and de Rossi 1257,

instead of וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר (M). So ABH. וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר is imper-

sonal. The tertiary וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר was added to supply the

subject: see Lev. (SBOT) p. 26, l. 45, Kings 269, 3

For ~~וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר~~ (T) ^{לְמַעַן} ~~וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר~~ = for a cause. cf. 7

(7) After ~~וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר~~ (T) ^{לְמַעַן} ~~וַיִּשְׁתַּכַּר~~ = from bearing

(1) In **על אשר** ($\overline{G^L TSA}$) and many mss of Rome and de Rossi, + כל, and this is favored by BEMNWM_iS, **על כל אשר** means 'on everything else' produced by the ground;

האדם, collective; (\overline{GVL}) have the plural. (T) has אנשא (A) has **אֲנָשׁוֹ** = the flesh = manhood. Similarly **בהמה** For **כפים** (\overline{GSAL}) = כפיהם which is preferred by BMM_iN.

(v) For **נלאך** (T) has נבא

במלאכות יהוה $\wedge (\overline{GAQ^{mg}A})$ and by the Syre-Hexaplar reading of (S) (so Mi). C finds in these words and the preceding **נלאך יהוה** a corruption of ירחמאלי, Serahmaelite. T^oC. Haggar also is a Serahmaelite and identical with Malachi.

נלאך \wedge (S)

(5) Read **נלא** instead of **ועל** (M), & the על can be accounted for by its repeated use in the preceding verse (v. 11) but **נלא** is more correct after **וישמע**. (Cf. the **ב** in **בקהל** after the same verb.) D \wedge the proposition as together.

In **כאשר** the preposition is omitted by (S) and some codd. of de Rossi. Mi suspicious it.

כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח = as he commanded him to say. Cf. Ps 26:6, 2S.11:22, 1K14:6, Is.55:11. H. cites the comment of Grotius who says: Sicut misit Dominus, id est, quae Deus ei dicenda mandaverat, nam שָׁלַח Hebraei saepe habent significationem habere. "He the Lord sent, that is, what God commanded him to say, for שָׁלַח often has this meaning for the Hebrews". Cf. GB¹⁶832a,e

After **אֱלֹהֵיהֶם** (G SAV) and some codd of Sam and de Rossi + אֱלֹהֵיהֶם. DEHi MNW read אֱלֹהֵיהֶם for the אֱלֹהֵיהֶם of M. Mi follows the versions and retains both. As this clause is a gloss which originated out of the preceding part of v.12 where יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם occurs, we may expect a similar expression in the gloss. So it is, in M but the אֱלֹהֵיהֶם may also have been present before it was omitted by haplography.

שָׂטָן. (assup. šatā = šatān - šatān. For its form see GK §75 n.

(1.15) For ביום BKiN, who connect v. 15a with v. 14, read ביום; cf 2:18 and Ezra 3:6. but there is no authority for the change in the Gersones or Mass.

For בשש (GSA) and a code of de Rossi read השש which might be preferable if השש were not a later addition as H suggests. The year is omitted from the date in 2:1, and is further, an addition in 2:20.

(2:20)

For גיה read גיה, a change that must be made when v. 1:15 is prefixed to 2:20; cf Hs in 1:1, 2:1, 10 and cf. Egypt. (SBOT) Critical Notes, p. 40, l. 27 (Ez. 1:3). Bö questions the genuineness of this and the following verses. A assigns vv. 20, 21a to a final redactor and is probably correct.

For אל-חב see n. [3] on I.

Do חב (GA) and Kenn. 250 + חב. This may be correct as Mi S think. Cf Hs in 1:1, 3, 2:1, 10

(2.21) Do חב (G) (followed by (AL)) + חב ויהי עשאו ויהי חב ויהי עשאו (= חב ויהי עשאו ויהי חב ויהי עשאו), the sea and the dry land, a gloss due to influence of 2:1 which resembled 2:21

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(v.22) For כסא (GA) = כסאות, a pluralizing which is due to the following

For כסאות, (G) has βασιλευς = נלכים (so also Θ). This is preferred by \mathcal{B} and allowed by H . The change to כסאות may have been made after gloss (L) had been inserted. But whether נלכים or כסאות, it is a plural of amplification as in Ps. 110:5. GK §124.e. The phrase does not mean throne of kingdoms but throne of a great kingdom or king. Mi suggests that we make the word definite by prefixing the article or adding העמים, of the peoples, and C desires to add ירחמאל; but a plural of amplification needs neither, in order to be definite. Cf. Exod. 30:12, Ps. 24:2, Prov. 16:13. The article is used quite irregularly in poetry in any case.

והשנודתי והגרים \wedge carelessly by a Mes of (G^*) , but this omission is followed by St.

\wedge in M but $+ (GA)$ (marginal gloss)

Read והאבדתי for ^{האבדתי} והפחתי which in M is due to vertical dittography. Cf. Mic. 5:9. For the careless repetition of

The same phrase, cf. JBL 35, 288, second paragraph.

מרכבה here is a collective noun. GK § 123, b. WdG 1, 181 A, 179, A. cf. Horse = cavalry, foot = infantry. (G TSA need the plural. It denotes here the scythed chariots of the Persians, δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα, Xen. An. 1, 7, 10; 8, 10; Diod. Sic. 17, 53. (so H).

For מרכבות על- (S) reads מרכבות על- (G) = מרכבות על- (G) has ἀναβάτας but (G^{xc.b}) has the suff. (G^A) + καὶ κατατρέπω πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ καταβαλῶ τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐνισχύω τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς μου. = And I will overthrow all its strength, and I will destroy their borders, and I will strengthen my chosen ones. (cf. the addition after 2:9 in (G).

For ויכבדו (T) has ויתקטלון, ^{ויתקטלון} and they will kill themselves. The form as it is pointed in (M) (ויתקטלון - perf. 3rd of ויכבדו with no conv.) is doubted by ANW. Grätz proposes ויכבדו, and they will triumph. He points the consonants of (M) ויכבדו, and they will be brought down. Mi retains

pointing of (M), taking the verb in the sense of descending into Sheol. H reads וַיֵּרָדוּ, simply adding a ה to the ו and omitting the מללח after the Lamech. Cf. AJSL 32, 70; JBL 34, 58, l. 9. This form ya dî is the haphaz future of יָרַד to subdue, and is to be translated and well subdued.

Read. ורגלים for ורכביהם according to H, with the meaning of footmen. cf. Jer. 12:5. See W, F, 2:17, iii. ורכביהם arose, like זֶה פָּקָדִי² above, as a careless repetition of the preceding ורכביה

After. יפל + אחיו. NH. The plur. יפלו is preferred by W. A. MS. The addition is considered superfluous by B. Mi and D. Mi reject the whole final clause איש בחדב אחיו (2:23) For כחותם E substitutes תחתם, in their place, referring it to the צמלכות הגוים in 2:22 but this is unnecessary. BN + לי = My, which may have been corrupted into the כי of the following gloss. His proposal is better, who + בימיני, on My right hand. The omission of this word can easily be accounted for,

, before the following כִּי בִּי, as haplography.

כִּי בִּי resembles כִּי בִּי (כ = נ, ב = נ, כ = ב) (T) supports

this suggestion, reading כִּי בִּי עַל יָדָא. like

a seal ring upon a hand. Seal rings were worn

either upon a cord suspended from the neck,

or upon the right hand. Cf. Cant. 8:6, Jer. 22:24.

(Y) after בִּי בִּי (GA) + τὸν τοῦ Σαλαθιηλ = בִּי שַׁלְחֵיָא, in

conformity with the other passages in which the

name occurs. If it is inserted here, it must be

considered a misplaced gloss from 2:23. (O)

לֵאמֹר (S). followed by Et.

(S) לֵאמֹר אֲבֹנִים מִסֵּפֶר C substitutes לֵאמֹר אֲבֹנִים מִסֵּפֶר.

1

שדחל א (5)

For $\pi\pi$ (A^B) reads ἔλαλησεν κύριος and A^x reads
ἔλαβεν κύριος instead of the usual ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου.
cf. (A) 1:1, 2:10, 20

* 7.2. See n. 3 on I. BMS prefer δx as in 2:10, 20.

(2:2) אִתְּךָ מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. Mi rightly corrects A who regards this form as an Aramaic imperative. The o' in the usual inv. form מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל has been shortened to o in katuph before the appended אִתְּךָ. Cf. Jer. 12:16. Jer. 18:11. Before אִתְּךָ מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל + כֵּן with (G S A L) and the //s in 1:12, 14. So BMNMiSH.

$\wedge(S)$: $S + \zeta$ for metrical reasons.

(i) הנשאר $\wedge (G^P L.A.)$.

For 78117 = survive, cf. Ru. 1:3. Also Assyr. batātu,
to live, - 1375-13713, to escape, means originally to
survive. The article is usually omitted before a
predicate but exceptions like this, are explained in

Gen 12:6. K by considering the supposed predicates to be, rather, subjects. If there were only one or two, (78777 and the following 787 are both singular) present who had seen the Solomonic Temple, the use of the article would be natural, since the allusion would be to well known person or persons. The phrase in which it occurs means lit.: the one who survives who has seen etc. The plural form of the following 787 affords an intended contrast with the singular 787; all of them saw how it looked in 520 B.C.

777 lit., and as what, in what condition. According to H. 777 does not mean how. 777 777, how great, means really what a great thing! In Gen. 44:16 AV renders it how but 777 777 means what shall we plead (in self-justification)? Cf. Job 9:2. In 2K 4:43 AV has what (Luther, has). In Ps 116:12 we must read 777 with what. In Mic 6:3, Ex. 10:26 777 = with what, where with. Cf. also WdG 2, 314, 24 but Gen. 6:16 1000

Hallelujah

אֶתֶּר א (A)

כִּי־כִּי, not conjunctions but vertical substantives.
So not its likeness the likeness of nothing? (IK 5/11c)

Before בעיניכם (S) + ~~וְאֵלֶיךָ~~, considered.

(ii) Before עֲתָה (S) אֶל. So also in 2:15.

חֲזָק, misplaced in (M) must be restored in its plural
 form before וְעָשׂוּ. so H.

צְבָאוֹת א (GMST), + (VL).

וְרוֹדֵי־שָׁמַיִם א initial י.

וְנִבִּיאֵי מַלְפִּיץ בִּינִיכּוֹן מִמֶּנִּי (T) וְרוֹחֵי עֲמֹדֶת בְּתוֹכְכֶם
and my prophets teach among you. שמעו עֲמֹדֶת־יְהוָה
 for metrical reasons.

(iii). The two preceding quatrains have a meter of
 2+2, but vv. 6-9 consist of two triplets with a meter
 of $\frac{3}{2}+2$. So we really have two poems; although
 they may have been composed and recited on the
 same day.

The O. No. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

עוֹד אַחַת מִעֲטֵה־יָא, so (MTV), but (GAL) read only עוֹד אַחַת
 and S = $\overline{\text{אֶל}}$ וְאֵלֶיךָ = עוֹד אַחַת פֶּעַם. Where this

passage is quoted in Heb. 12:26, the quotation follows (G) closely. A similar expression occurs in Ps. 37:10 where only $\gamma \text{ ὅμως τὸν}$ is found which (G) renders by $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\tau\iota \epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}$, or $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and yet a little, and. In Ex. 17:4 $\gamma \text{ ὅμως τὸν}$ is rendered in (G) by $\epsilon\tau\iota \mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota$, yet a little, and. The passage as it occurs in Haggai (M) is usually considered a corruption and the explanation of W has been preferred by most critics, with some minor variations of their own. W thinks that the phrase arose from the confusion of two variants, one of which is preserved in (GLS), $\epsilon\tau\iota \alpha \text{ τὸν}$, and the other consists of $\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ ὅμως τὸν}$, cf. Ps. 37:10. W prefers the latter variant as genuine in Haggai. H, however, retains (M) in its entirety. Literally it means duration of once, a little, it is. $\tauὸν$, yet, duration means that there will be some slight delay; it implies that the catastrophe mentioned in the following words will not come at once, But the delay will be slight (ὅμως) and the delay

will happen but once (אחא). "It will take a while, but not long, before the catastrophe comes; but there will be no further delay and disappearance." (H).
(Cod. Beza, 4)

אחא and אפא are adverbial; אפא is an adjective used substantively as the subject of the verbal element אפא. The whole phrase forms the first member of a compound sentence, the second member of which begins ואני מרעיש.

For ואני Cod. Kenn 153 reads וקני. of (A) אפא אפא.

ואפא אפא is lacking in the 11 in 2:21 and is rejected by EMI without sufficient reason, for the poet is referring to naval battles and battles on land.

Read אפא אפא of (M). For similar copyists' repetitions of a preceding word of אפא² and אפא in 2:22. and JBL 35:288

For אפא (sing.) of (MTSV) and אפא (plu.) with (FAL) and nearly all modern critics, since it is the subject of the plural verb באק, and a change from the fem. const.

must be made since the following כל־הגוים is a gloss.
For מַלְאָכָיו cf. Gen. 27:15, Dan. 11:48, 53. C₁ substitutes
מַלְאָכָיו, gifts and E proposes to read מַלְאָכָיו as the
subject of יֵאָדָּבֵר which he prefers to יֵאָדָּבֵר. The sing.
מַלְאָכָיו was substituted for the original plural probably
under the influence of the Messianic connotation
which was attached to the word in later centuries,
cf. Luke 2:29 ff, 38.

(iv) מַלְאָכָיו and מַלְאָכָיו, thus putting מַלְאָכָיו and מַלְאָכָיו in apposition
with מַלְאָכָיו, but this is unwarranted. Nor is it neces-
sary to connect this verse with the preceding verse by
prefixing כִּי as Mi proposes although, by providing
an unaccented syllable, it makes the following וְ
more emphatic. This כִּי may be found in the διότι
which (G) (S has ו) prefixes before לֵיטֵן at the beginning
of the following verse.

After מָלֶכְךָ (G) + καὶ εἰς ἡν ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς περιποίησιν
παρὰ τῷ κτίσαντι τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦτο.
sum. pres. of soul unto preservation to resurrection.

that lay the foundations to erect this Temple.

So also (A). W translates it in Hebrew: ושלוח נפש
לחיות כל היום לקונם ההיכל הזה. (A) reads יסד instead
of דס? and NA substitutes לחיות for לחיה. It may
have arisen according to N from Ezr. 7:96. Ali amplifies
Jerome's reasons for regarding it as ungenine; ;
in the addition, inward and spiritual tranquility
is promised, but Haggai predicted material
prosperity.

(A) after יהוה $(G^L + \text{צבאוב})$. The whole gloss A by SH

(Y) $\text{צבאות } \Lambda(G)$.

(C) את הדבר $\Lambda(GAS^H L)$ and rejected by nearly
all critics, since it interrupts the context, and its
grammatical relation to the text is a matter of great
difficulty. (V) makes this clause the direct object
of עשו in v. 4. (adopted by Aben Ezra, Kimchi et al.).

~~and~~ Rosenmüller supplies עשו before את הדבר.

But Haggai was urging the people to work on the
Temple in 520 BC rather than to work on SHVH's

promises of more than six centuries before
Mauver Hi + מלאכה after עשו in v. 4 in conformity
with 1:14 but עשו needs neither מלאכה nor v. 5a
as an object; cf. Eze. 10:4, Ru. 2:19, Prov. 31:13.
de D Mi regard את הדבר as an appositive to אני אתכם
of v. 4. Hi KMN associate it, presumably in appo-
sition, with the following וירחי עמדת --- but the
intervening conjunction prevents any grammatical
between the two parts of v. 5. The את הדבר has been
also regarded as an adverbial accusative by some,
and as a prepositional phrase by others. But who
prefers הברית to הדבר suggests that the את arose
from the final letters of the preceding עבדת and
displaced the preposition ב.

But the simplest and most preferable explanation
is to regard it as an accusative, the object of some
verb that must be supplied. D suggests אקים.

Ew Hengstenberg and H prefer וירחי. Such constructions
are not unparalleled. cf. Haupt's Micah A. 18 L. 27, 35; 24

and Selah, Expos. Times, May 1911, p 376 num. 10, 11.

H suggests that the glossator may have been thinking of passages like Ex. 3:12 and AV^m refers to Ex. 29:45, 46. כרת י' may stand for י' כרת; the glossator means to say (He repeats) the promise which JHWH gave you when ye came out of Egypt.

More fantastic than serious is the proposal of C. to read for אֶת־הָעֲרָבִים וְהָרַחֲבִיתִים וְהַמִּצְרִים וִירַחֲמָאִלִּים ט. אשר בתוככם אל־ת' which he refers to the N. Arabians who settled in Palestine during the Captivity.

For מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם (I) has de terra (Egypti) = מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם of Ex. 20:2.

(E) כה א (G^B)

(A) Everything between חֲמֹדָה and לִי הַכֶּסֶף is rejected by SH as an interruption. כֹּל־הַגִּוִּים is dittography of the words at the end of the preceding hemistich and is also rejected by E'. The concluding אֲנִי is likewise rejected by Ali

(a) For נֶאֱמַר, some Spanish Codices אֲנִי

(E) קראשוק. This gloss was added by some one thinking of the contrast expressed in 2:3. קראשוק^{7B} modify כבוד in (M) and the other versions except in (1) where they are translated by the genitive and hence regarded as modifying קראשוק.

(2:10) Before בעשרים (S) + ?

The Hebrew idiom להשיע lit. translated would not have been intelligible in (G SAY) who + בחדש, בשנת שנים לדריוש by MS and H assigns the phrase to a redactor in every place except 1:1. (VL) and cod. 1092 of de Rossi + פזל. cf Hs in 1:1, 15.

לז 80, GAVLSH M^{Baer's text}). Mi says that לז is found in 80 mss, and among the early st edd., Soncin., 1486, 1488. Bres., Pes. 1515, 1517, Gen. 1517, 1521. Baer mentions also Exert. 1, 3, Petros., Bab. N in Ke's Bible retains ד"ז on the basis of (ST, edd. Bomb., Buxt., Rec., Anvers., and cod. Hill. M follows N but B Mi K SH prefer לז.

(2:11) For לזש, (S), which has ד"ז in v. 10, thus understanding the command of JHVH to come through

Haggai to the people, consistently reads לזש.

פזל is a Babylonian loanword. G B¹⁶ 318^a 9. 107 III. The introductory passage is later than

(1) Read. זא for the זπ of M which is an Aramaic hypothetical particle. GK § 159 w. Mi regards it as a demonstrative but all the versions translate it if and

on the basis of the // in v. 13, it was probably substituted by some Aramaic speaking scribe, for א.

To אָנא, 18 mss. of Kenn. + the article to conform with the other nouns in this series but it is better to omit the article before all.

To אָנא, 3) + אָנא which may be translated either, where people meet with, or of meeting people.

Prefix אָנא (inf. abs.) before אָנא for emphasis. so H.

אָנא is possible after אָנא-אָנא, but a final א may have been omitted by haplography.

Read אָנא, so H. The tense of the verbs אָנא and אָנא in the protasis leads us to expect a present or future in the apodosis in place of the preterite אָנא. Hence the var consecutive must be changed to var copulative. אָנא would record the fact that their answer was No, but the poet's question is hypothetical, see m. l. on IV, and he means to say, If you ask the priests, they will say, No.

אָנא, a short verbal clause. GK § 152 c.

(ii) נפֿש נפֿש. Mi regards נפֿש as an adv. acc. GK §118g.

but N. more correctly than has it a genitive, GK §128x.

In Nu. 5:2, 9:10 we find נפֿש לִנְפֿש. N says נפֿש here
(Nu. 6:6, Lev. 21:11, 22:11)

= נפֿש נפֿש, a dead spirit, the soul in so far as it has been
separated from the body. נפֿש, soul, may mean, person.

The original meaning was blowing, breathing,

living, according to H. it may also be a euphe-

mism for dead body. Cf AB¹⁶ 575^a, d and Grimm's

Ev. Lit. Ap. (Miss.) p. 5, l. 6, and JAOS 28, 116. For

person = body, cf body-guard, body-servant, etc.,

for personal guard, or attendant. For body =

dead body of corpse = Lat. corpus. So נפֿש נפֿש

means something made) unclean by means of

a corpse, i.e. by contact, or even approach, cf Nu. 19:11-16.

(G) followed by (A) + ἀνάθραψος unclean to

μεμιασμένος = נפֿש.

Read the plu. נפֿש in both instances in this verse

since their subject refers to נפֿש. The omission

of the final ו may be due to haplography.

For $\overline{\text{לֵבִי צִנֹּר}}$ and $\overline{\text{וְיִאֲמֹר}}$, see n. on $\overline{\text{וְיִאֲמֹר}}$ in the preceding verse. P. $\overline{\text{וְיִאֲמֹר}}$ (S + 13).

(iii) Between vv. 13 and 14 the meter changes, from lines of 2+2 beats to lines of 3+3 beats. Vv. 14-19 consist of four couplets which form a new poem. See n. (9) on IV. p. 104

Add צִבְאוֹת as in 1:18, cf. 1:9., although it is not found in the versions either.

After each one of the three occurrences of כִּי in this verse (S) +, as copulas, $\text{סִי} = \text{וְאֵל}$, $\text{אִי} = \text{וְיֵא}$, and $\text{אִי} = \text{וְיֵא}$, respectively.

For וְיִאֲמֹר ($\text{כִּי} = \text{כִּנְשֹׁתָא}$, assembly, (S) = וְיִאֲמֹר , generation.

For וְיִאֲמֹר (const. sing) (G T S A L) read the plural, but in this case in the Hebrew, וְיִאֲמֹר is not made plural (G 1242) by the following וְיִאֲמֹר which is really a dual, the const. of וְיִאֲמֹר .

וְיִאֲמֹר in (G) = $\text{καὶ δὲ ἑὸν ἑγγύτη ἐκεῖ, and whenever offere there, (L.) likewise was et quicunque accesserit illo}$

ἀφ' ὧν καὶ πῶς (G) + ἐρεκεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν
ὀφθαρῶν ὁδὸν ἠγάγεταί ἀπὸ πλοῦτου πόρων.
καὶ ἐμισεῖτε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας. (L) + 148

*propter praesumptiones eorum matutinas
dolent a facie laborum suorum, et odii
habebatis in portis arguentes*, because of
their morning profits, they will be distressed
from their toils, and ye hate in gates, reprovers.

The first clause of this addition has been
translated into Hebrew by N as יאן לקקם שׁפּוּ כּפּר =
but these words they wish to read יאן לקקם שׁפּוּ =
because ye took a bribe. cf. לקקם כּפּר, Am. 5:12.

H translates it יאן לקקם שׁפּוּ = because of their
taking a bribe. cf. 2 Ch. 19:7. For לקקם of GK 85h, 45e;
For the construction שׁפּוּ לקקם of GK 115d and also
in Is. 29:13 יאן לקקם אֲנִי = their fearing me, their
fear of me. In the third clause, H translates
וּשְׂנֵאָתָם בְּשַׁעֲרֵם מוֹכִיחִים, and suggests that the
original reading was שַׁעַר, the plural ending being

due to dittography of the initial is of מוֹכִיחַ. These
two glosses, according to H may have originally
a gloss to the triplet in Zech. 8:16, 17. (See JRL 32, 107
H attributes the poem in Zech. 8:9-17 to Haggai). If
the gloss in (GAL) of Hag. 2:14 was originally at-
tached to the poem in Zech. 8:9-17, it would
show that poems IV and V were originally con-
nected. They may have been written in two paral-
lel columns, and this gloss may have been written
in the space between them. (G) καὶ ἐμίσετε
ἐν πύλαις ἡ ἐλέγχοντες but the other members of the whole addition
have the third person throughout, so this is probably
a mispointing of ἐμίσετε, and then naming of ὁπρῶ.
H also points out that the view of W, that καὶ ἐμίσετε
ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντες was derived from Amos 5:10
ἐμίσησαν ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντες, was suggested
by Deussius (Johannes van der Driesche) more than
300 years ago. But this view is incorrect; it is an
illustrative quotation in both Amos and Haggai.

In JBL 35, 136 H assigns Am. 5:10 as a gloss to Am. 8:4.

The second clause, according to S^{GA}, was in Hebrew יִתְעַנּוּ מִפְּנֵי עֲצָבֵיהֶם. H reads rather יִתְעַנּוּ מִפְּנֵי עֲצָבֵיהֶם which he supposes, may have been a gloss to IV, v (2:16). (G) reads ὁδονησονται = יִתְעַנּוּ, they will be distressed. But in Zech. 12:10 (G) mistranslates the perfect יִתְעַנּוּ of (M) by the future ὁδονησονται, (the emendation in Z DMG 66, 401 is gratuitous) and this may have been a similar mistake in this gloss. Contrast (M) 2:13, וְיִלְעֲנוּ and וְיִתְעַנּוּ for וְיִלְעֲנוּ and וְיִתְעַנּוּ. See JBL 36, 149.

(ii) For לְבַרְכָּם (G^B) has εἰς (= ב) τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

(G^{AC, LAQF}) have ἐπὶ, but neither preposition is used where this phrase occurs in 1:5, 7, 2:18a and in 2:18b ἐν is found. In these two instances (G) may have read בְּלִבְכֶּם or בְּלִבֵּי. אֲלֵינוּ.

For מַעְלָה (G) ἐπ' ἄνω, (V) supra, lit. above, upwards.

In the phrase מִיּוֹם הַהוּא וְעַלָּה (Is. 16:13, 30:25) it undoubtedly refers to the future and is taken

None in this sense by MNVBEA et al. who put a
full stop between it and the following ׁדסו.
He suggests that it means onwards not that the
היום הזה, this day, was some day in the past.
Mi rejects the whole phrase. But there is a
difference between ׁדסו היום והעלם and the
היום הזה ׁדסו of Hag. 2:15 and the context
indicates that the poet has no thought of the
future in this and the next stanza. He is
contrasting two periods of time which were
both in the past when he was speaking. See
n.(2) on IV. The meaning past is accepted by Ni Ew
Re. KHP et al. It points out that in Assyrian,
derivatives of עלם are commonly used of the past;
(DHW 65) and that in Hebrew, a word on which
the accent is thrown back is called עלם (GK 15c,
20f); the use of עלם upward for backward is
just as natural as the use of קדם, front, for past,
and פתח, back, for future. Cf. ASSL 24, 141, n. In

Latin actas supererunt means the past, cf. also note below on (M). See also above, p. 101 & 102.

נִטְרָם, elsewhere always נִטְרָם or נִטְרָם ב and followed by the imperfect when referring to the past. (RK §107, 152).

For עָל, (MG) = לָא but (TSVL) = עָל.

For the enjambement in this line, and in the last line in the following stanza, and in the first line of stanza vi, cf. AJSL 23, 240 and Haupt's Nahum, 50. (second line of Nah. 2:11). (And for * metrical restoration of the text (M) by H. 102. AJSL 24, 127.

(GAL) read מִי הָיָהֶם for מִהָיָהֶם (M), from their being, which is absent either at the end of v. 15 or at the beginning of v. 16 where all the versions place it. Cod. 23 of Kenn. and two of de Rossi read מִהָיָהֶם, and a cod. of de Rossi has בִּאֵל for the following בִּא with which all the versions agree, which may be translated, tho (how) were ye when ye came etc. cf. Gen. 34:25. Mt emends it to read מִי הָיָהֶם

and with him agree AIDENS. יר (how) is preferred by B, and M (in Kautzsch's AT³ (1910)) reads either יר or יר H rejects the substitution of יר for יר for which he suggests the meaning how in AJSL 24, 127. cf. n. on יר in 2, (i), above. Contrast GB¹⁶ 419a. Sellin's proposal of יר יר is unsupported, and of lesser value are the proposals of Hi K Mi Man Dru Hd who find a suggestion of יר or יר in the concluding ׀. In AV₂ "Since those days were" and in RV₂ "Through all that time when" are no translations at all. יר יר, how were ye? must not be prefixed to v. 16 as in M and the Versions, but is the concluding clause of v. 15 (see MH), whose temporal modifier is the phrase beginning with יר.

(v) For יר (M), one came, preterite, read the infinitive יר as in 1:9. GK 113aa-ff. So NBDMH. G. reads ερεβχῆτε, ye cast in for the first יר. So also A.

To יר (GAL) + יר, barley. Mi suggests that this insertion is due to the resemblance of the two words

in Hebrew. Cod. 20 of de Rossi + פנים, wheat.

(GAL) also + σάτα (V + modicum), measures = סאים,

but in Hebrew certain specifications of measure, weight, or time are commonly omitted after numerals. GK § 134 n.

For הנה before היתנה § 119.

לחשף א(סד)

פורה. @μετρατάς; (ד) דחמר; (א) אב. These

*gall = 1/125 modicum
Acc. for the bottle measure tub, cup
dun = 2/3 modicum*

show that (GTA) regard פורה as some measure of capacity, and to be taken with the preceding עשרים. Similarly (V) with agenas and (L) with amphoras understand by it, a vessel or container for the product of the wine press. With this interpretation agree Rashi Mau. Hd. And AKHil hold that its original meaning was wine-press (Is. 63:3) but that here, it has the derived meaning of trough-ful (ס) א פורה and M+MNMi regard it as a misplaced gloss to היקב which is practically its equivalent. S also א פורה and reads בא אל-היקב חמישים לחשף. B reads

פור or פור and thinks that פור is a
 press filled with bunches of grapes. D likes
 פור, but thinks it may be an expression for
 wine in its unfermented state. The reading,
 פור, from a rat, is favored by Sm. W. H. Calvin.
 The omission of the initial ו is due to haplography.
 For פור = rat, see AJSL 24, 126 ff, 171, and Haupt's Joel, n. 59, p. 396.
 For הית, perf. consec. after inf. cf. 1:9. After the second

הית, (S) + להם = להם
 (U) In לטנן, the ל is governed by שינוי לבבכם at the end of the line. cf. Dt. 32:46, Ez. 40:4.

(GSA) connect שינוי לבבכם with v. 19. A rejects it,
 but it is genuine and its action is directed to both
 the preceding clause and v. 19. Also see above,
 n. on לבבכם in (iv).

For העוד הזרע (G) followed by (AL) reads εἰ ἐπιγνώσθη-
 σεται εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀλυσ, (Consider) whether it was known
at the threshing floor. B thinks a copyist mistook
 העוד for הַיָּדָע. But H thinks he read הַיָּדָע, instead
 of הזרע

בּוּגְרָה (M) is translated by Ziegler, as in anxiety
or with בּ as ב essential, as an object of fear.
but it is rightly objected to by Mt M Mi. NH prefer
where (G) has ^{καρφοί}
בּוּגְרָה (cf. Job 1:17), a place where something is
stored, lit., thrown down. (cf. 7213, (Ps 89:45); not
a threshing floor as (GTSAL) translate.

Read וַעַד (GV) instead of וַעַד (M), in conformity with
וַעַד. So all critics. cf. same mistake in Job 1:18.

For נִשְׂא. Mt M DS read נִשְׂא (G). B reads נִשְׂאִים. (TSL)
read נִשְׂאִי which would be preferable if נִשְׂאִי --- נִשְׂאִי
were not a gloss. (G) followed by (AL) + καρφόι, fruit
(α) כִּנְף' in v. 12, a gloss due to dittography of the genuine
כִּנְף in the following line, just as בּוּגְרָה of (GAL)
for בּוּגְרָה of (M), although preferred by B represents
dittography of the preceding בּוּגְרָה.

(ε) Read. רִיעָנוּ. ^{about} See ^{about} on רִיעָנוּ in (i). This gloss also is
due to dittography. (S) X the initial ?

(θ) ר = that is, van explicative, often found before affixed
glosses or after prefixed glosses. See GK §154a, n. 16; GS 111

(A) אל יקב (T) + דבה, in which sense

(A) 2.17 is a loose reproduction of Amos 4:9, see n. 24 on IV.

In Amos, v. 4:9 preceded by 4:6a, comprises the third stanza of the last but one of Amos' poems. As restored in the Oriental Seminary of Johns Hopkins University in 1915-16 by Prof. Haupt it may be read:

4,6a iii וגם נתתי לכם נקיון שנים

9 הקיתי אתכם בחרבון בשדפון ובירקון

בנותיכם וקרמיכם יאכל הגזם

ולא שבתם עדי נאם יהוה

(A) 4,6a אני (B) וחסר לחם בכל נקוניתיכם יבכל עריכם

(Y) ולא שבתם עדי נאם יהוה (F) 9 ותאניכם וזיתיכם

He also gave you cleanliness of teeth.

I smote you with drought with blasting and blight

Your gardens (of fruit trees) and vineyards, the locusts devoured

Yet, ye did not return to Me declares SHVN.

(A) 4,6a I (B) and want of bread in all your places {and in

all your cities} (Y) yet ye did not return to Me declares SHVN.

(B) 9 and your fig trees and your olive trees.

(Gloss (V) is the refrain to the last quatrain of
 this poem, in 5:1, 2, where, at the end of the poem,
 the refrain may have been ואינכם שבים עדי (present)
 of our passage in Haggai. **וּבְבֹרֵךְ**, and with hail,
 in Haggai seems to be a correction of the glos-
 sator for the unintelligible **וְהַרְבּוֹת** of Am. 4: 9,
 which is a corruption of **וְהַרְבּוֹן**, drought.
 In the unintelligible **וְאִין אִינְכֶם אֵלַי** (M), for **אֵלַי** (T) has
 לְפִנְיָ, to my worship. (V) translates the phrase
non fuit in vobis qui reverteretur ad me, there
was none among you who returned to me. The
 other versions have the equivalent of the phrase in
 Amos. The Hebrew ^{phrase} in Haggai, cannot be construed
 as it stands and almost every possible combi-
 nation has been conjectured by critics, as a remedy.
 See K's, Die Nach. Pro. p. 100 f. It offers the least change
 in the consonants as they stand in (M) where he
 proposes **וְאִינְכֶם אֵתִים**. Under the influence of
אֵתֶם at the beginning of this verse, the **כֶם** of **אִינְכֶם**

was transferred to אֶתְיָם - אֶתִּי. If the glossator
added the entire passage from Am. 4:9 ואֵין אִתְּכֶם
may be a corruption of וְתֵאֲנִיכֶם in Am. 4:9. The
intervening words בְּנוֹתֵיכֶם וְכִרְמֵיכֶם may have
become illegible, and some subsequent scribe
may have substituted אֶת־כָּל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם.

1757X to come, corresponding to Assy. atû, to find
(DHW, 155) (cf. XSRB, to find, and 087H, to come)
means in Ethiopic (ĤT0) to return. Heb. XZ, to
come, means originally, to inn. ASSL 22, 259;
so H.

(u) is an unnecessary repetition of v. 15a.

NBM question the following $\pi^+\pi^-\rightarrow\gamma^*\rightarrow\text{all}$,
but without sufficient reason.

For **πλυν** here, (G) has καὶ ἐπέκεινα (instead of καὶ ὑπεράνω in v. 15): δι' ἐπέκεινα χρόνοι denotes the former times. Contrast (V in futurum, here, for supra in v. 15; L has deinceps, continuously etc., for supra in v. 15).

צבאות להבנות + \mathbb{S} and צבאות (G^L) היה (7)

אָדער נאָם יִהוָה = γ_{os} אָדער γ_{os} $(S)^+$ אָדער γ_{os} $(S)^+$

So H reads \aleph_1 and with this agrees (A).

(ππ) For πψψψ (sing), all the versions and cod. 112

Kenn. have the plural, but see n. on פועש in

(iii) above. As the gloss stands, $\pi\omega\upsilon\varsigma\lambda\lambda\text{-}\pi\alpha$ is the

direct object of הכייתי, just as אתכם, but RV makes

is the accusative of specification. GK § 117 ll. A

second accusative is often found in glosses;

(cf. JBL 35, 160).

(i) Read הִזְקִיָּה for הִזְקִיָּה of (M); cf. Hg. 2:4

נִהְיָה , Nifal perfect. (A) has the future here and for the other verbs in v. 10. (GA) also + עִסְעִי עִסְעִי , for profit.

Read אֵינְנִי with the versions for אֵינְנִי of (M), to agree with its subject שָׂכָר in gender. M suggests that the fem. suffix is due to the intervening בְּכֹהֵן

For וְאֶשְׁלַח M. I shall send, read וְאֶשְׁלַח sent (cf. GK 22, c; 49, c; 104 d). So DNMMiKiH. Davidson and H also suggest וְאֶשְׁלַח may be a form of שָׁלַח . I should send, I sent constantly (GK 107 e).

(ii) In וְעַתָּה , (SV) וְ

$\text{כִּי זֶרַע הַשָּׁלוֹם}$ (M), with which agree only (V). seed semen. pacis erit, But there will be the seed of peace, although זֶרַע here = seeds, not semen. Assy. zēru, is used in

the same way; see the זֶרַע HC 7 (vol. 1)

(I) + בְּעֵדְנָא הָהִיא , at that time, and also וְעַתָּה

זֶרַע הַשָּׁלוֹם (S regards שָׁלוֹם as a

noun and preposes the preposition, ב. (A) follows

by (A) ~~misreading~~ $\cdot \text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ as $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ (acc),
or as $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, I will make known peace. None of
these give a satisfactory explanation, and many
conjectures have been proposed. NW & MS⁹ Mi
read $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ for I will scatter prosperity.
Kl reads $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ its seed will be sown but
it is not plain to what the suffix refers. The
proposal of NW stat. might be a good one if the
preceding verse (11) were genuine in which the
first person is used. But since throughout
the rest of v. 12, the subjects of the verbs are
 $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, and $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, it would seem probable
that a parallel construction stood here. This can
be brought about simply by transposing the
article before $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ to a position before $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ (so H).
 $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ = the seed is sowing. $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ must either
be regarded as an adjective or be read $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ - peace,
salvation, salvation. Syr. $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, Gr. $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$. (But
in Syr. we also find $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$ $\text{ע} \text{ע} \text{ע}$, so be well! But accor-

2.11.11.11

ביום had been used instead of the 5 ימים of 2.11.11.11
 Hg. 2.11.18. It follows Hg. 2.11.18. (TA) and וְהָיָה כִּי בָנוּהָ
 וְהָיָה כִּי בָנוּהָ. יָסַד לְאֵלֶיךָ. (TA) refers to the same thing. (TA) and before that time. MN's preference for
 וְהָיָה כִּי בָנוּהָ is of little consequence, if this is a gloss.
 (TA) and before that time. MN's preference for
 וְהָיָה כִּי בָנוּהָ is of little consequence, if this is a gloss.
 (TA) and before that time. MN's preference for
 וְהָיָה כִּי בָנוּהָ is of little consequence, if this is a gloss.

After (GAV) + אֶעֱשֶׂה, I will do.

is unnecessary if וְהָיָה of 2.11.11 is retained before 2.12
 after וְהָיָה, (T) + בְּרָכוֹת, blessings, probably influenced
 by בְּרָכָה in 2.13.

(5) אֶל וְהָיָה

(5) reads בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְבֵית יְהוּדָה, is genitives after בָּיִם,
 but the other versions regard them as vocatives. WNMH
 them both. Mi retains בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל. H also אֶתְכֶם.

(5) אֶל וְהָיָה.

וְהָיָה (cf. 2.11.11.11), gloss is introduced by the
 following verse (2.11.11.11), although, אֶל וְהָיָה and וְהָיָה
 glosses is used to introduce 2.11.11.11.

שאלה 1

(σ) (V) transposes יושב' + (S) בית-יהודה and ירושלם, doubtless because of the לם in the preceding line.

(W) $\overline{G^{H+H}LS}$ and $WMDMWH$. \overline{WMDMWH} probably arose from שפשו.

(φ) \overline{GAS} , 5 ms of (M), and $WMDMWH$. The טא before כל-אלה shows that it is in the acc., hence the direct object of שנאפי. Therefore the \overline{GAS} must be an interpolation.

In טא ו 117L, the טא-כל-אלה is explained as due to attraction to the following relative which is in the accusative.

(x) \overline{GAS} :-

(1) 7.2) **דָּבָר אֶחָד** (3) followed by A) **הָאֵלֹהִים** = **אֱלֹהִים** 27.20A
 which is a conjectural emendation of **אֶחָד**. Cf. Jer 39:3.15.
 (17) **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** and (18) **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי**. AV regards it as
 a proper name (coho N), and **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** is an appellative,
 but according to Prof. Harnack, **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** is an appellative
 and **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** is the first part of a proper name. (JBL 33, 161)
 N. points to **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** (E. Harnack) which is
 the royal herald. He compares **אֶחָד** herald,
 lit. one, with the Assy. herald, to cry, with
 which herald and herald, etc. to be associated.
 He further conjectures - due to orthography of **אֶחָד**.
 His proposal suits the context well, and it
 may read "the herald - herald (the herald) sent a
 royal herald and his men to ask etc".

(7.2) Read **אֶחָד** instead of **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** (18) (19) since
 the royal herald came to inquire, as the latter part
 of the verse indicates. The **לֹא־יָדָעְתִּי** of (18) is as probably due
 JBL 33, 161.7

8:18) לאמר (GTS).

(2) For 'יום הרביעי' (GTS) read היום הרביעי, the fourth fast, and the fifth fast, etc., but V agrees with G, which is certainly more correct.

For י'היה, 2 ms. of (M) and (GS) read י'היו which is more natural, but if י'היה is retained, it refers to צום קחשי and accurately translated, the best reply would be, "The fast of the fifth month shall be etc., and not only the fast of the fifth month, but also the fast of the fourth etc."

(ii) $\text{לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים}$ has been transferred from its original position after וְכִסָּם . The priests would properly be addressed before the people.

וְיִשְׁמְרוּ Inf. abs. used as the continuation of a finite verb, GK § 113g. cf. Kg. 1:6.

For $\text{וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ}$, (TA) have the plurals possibly to indicate them as annual facts.

(iii) - (ii), the corruption of אֶל אֶת־וְ and וְ into וְ above, and this is favored by WNMN. cf. Is. 7:5 - note, above.

For the simple interrogative וְ , (S) reads וְ , why.

For וְ , 25 mas of Num. have וְ . In GK, 59, a.

This is cited as one of the only three cases where a pronominal suffix is added to the second pers. mas. plu.

(cf. also. Lu. 20:5, 21:5). N. adds that וְ must be read in Cant. 6:12 (BL 26, n. 4: cf. Buade ad loc.).

(iii) $\text{כִּי אֶל (G) (G^{AD}+), (ASV)}$.

The concluding line of this poem consists of the words which now form the last half of 8:19, and it has become badly corrupted. (S) אֶל וְכִסָּם . וְ modifies

Job 8:15-17

אח by tautology, cancel. In the original poem, **אח** and **אח** were possibly transferred from their present positions in (M), as in 8:16 and **אח** may also have been present, since it occurs in 8:16. See n. n'1575 V.

(B) For **אח**, (GAV) has $\delta\varsigma \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu \chi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$, which is elision. This is repeated by NMMiDN et al.; cf. 3c. 1:7.

(Y) For **אח**, E proposes $\lambda\omega\alpha$ but this is not necessary.

(D) Read **אח** for $\lambda\alpha$ (M) - cf. n. in 3c. 7:3.

(A) **אח**, (G) + $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\theta\epsilon$, and cancel cancel; so as (S^H).

(B) For **אח**, (G) has $\tau\omega\nu \delta\upsilon\delta\iota\kappa\omega\nu$, instead of the usual $\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\kappa\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\omega\nu$, and A likewise has \dots instead of \dots . (TS) it.

(A) **אח** \wedge (S).

(A) **אח** \wedge (SG) ($G^{AG}+$).

7c, 1-3: VI, preface

4: 9

5: ii

6: iii, 1, 2

8, 9a: V, i, 1

9b: 8

10: i, 2, 3

11: 0

12a: ii, 1, 2

12b: K

13: ii, 3

14a: 9

14b: iii, 2

14c: 0

15: iii, 3

16a: T

16b: iv, 1

17: iv, 2, 3

18: VI, preface

19a: i

19b: iii, 3

Index

<u>1</u> , 1 : I, h , 1, 2	<u>1</u> , 14 : I, nat. add.	<u>2</u> , 12 : IV, i
2 : I, i, 1, 2	15 : II, preface	13 : ii
3 : B	<u>2</u> , 12 : III, preface	14a' : η, θ
4a : i, 3	3 : i	14 : iii
4b : δ	4 : ii, 1, 2, 3	15 : iv
5b : ϵ	4a ² : α, β	16 : v
7a : ξ	4b ² : γ	17 : λ
7b : ii, 1	5a : δ	18a : μ
8 : v, 1, 2	5b : ii, 4	18b' : ρ, σ
9a : ii, 2, 3	6a' : ϵ	18b ² : vi, 1
9b : iii	6 : iii, 1, 2	19a' : vi, 2
10, 11a : iv	7a : iii, 3	19a ² , v : ξ, θ
10b : η	7b : λ	20 : II, preface
11b : λ	8a : iv, 1	21a : γ
12 : nat. add.	8b : μ	21b, 22a' : i
12a ² : ξ	9 : ii, 2, 3	22a ² , b : 2, 3
13a : v	9a ² : ξ	23a' : η
13b : v, 3	10, 11 : IV, preface	23a ² : 4
		23b : κ

וכי תאכלו

וכי תשתו

הלוא אתם

האכלים ו^ההשתים

{דברו (שלום)}

ואמרת (אהבו):

8, 17a

י.1 (א) היה דבר יהוה אלי זכריה (ב) בכסלו (ג) להלות את פני יהוה

3 (ד) ואית-הנביאים 8, 17a (e) כה אמר יהוה צבאות (ז) בית (ח) לעושים טובים

י.4 (ה) ויהי דבר יהוה צבאות אלי לאמר (ו) לאמר (ז) צום (ח) אתם

8,9 (α) צבאות (β) ידיכם (γ) בימים האלה

(δ) מפי הנביאים אשר באו^{בא} יסד ביהיהוה צבאות ההיכל להבנות

10 (ε) לפני הימים ההם (ς) מן-הצר (ז) את-כל-האדם

11 (θ) לא-כימים הראשנים אני לשארית העם הזה נאם יהוה צבאות

12 (ι) כי (א) והנחלתי את-שארית העם הזה את-כל-אלה (ב) והיה כאשר

13 (κ) ביהיהודה ובית-ישראל כן אושיע אתכם (λ) תחזקנה ידיכם

14 (μ) כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות באשר (ν) אמר יהוה צבאות ולא בסנות

15 (ξ) כן (θ) בינוים האלה (פ) את-ירושלם (ז) אלה הדברים אשר תעשו

16 (υ) אמת ומשפט 17 (φ) אשר (א) נאם יהוה

7

1. 7c. ויהי בשנה ארבע לדדיוש המלך^ב בארבעה לחדש השעיל

2. וישלח ביהאל-שראצר-כרם מלך ואנשיו: לשאל-אחיהכהנים

אשר לביהיהוה צבאות^ג לאמר האבכה בחדש הזמשי הנזר

8. 18 כאשר עשיתי זה כמה שנים: ויהי דבר יהוה צבאות אלי לא^ד

19a i [צום החמישי] ו[צום הרביעי]

וצום השביעי וצום העשירי

יהיה ליהודה לששון ולשמחה^ה:

3. 7c ii אָמַר (אל-הכהנים) ואל-כל-עם הארץ^ו

כי-צמותם וספוד בחמישי ובשביעי

לא-השבעים שנה^ז הצמתונת^ח אני:

2, 12 (א) כנף (א) ה (א) ה (א) כָּעֲנוּ חֲבֵרָיו (א) 13 (ב) ויאמר חֲבִי
 14 (ד) ויען חֲבִי ויאמר (א) בן העם הזה ד (א) 15 (ה) ואלהיקב
 17 (א) הפיתי אתכם בַּשָּׂדֶפֶץ וּבַדִּיקוֹן וּבַבִּדְלוֹ וְאִינֹכֶם אֶתֶּלֶס אֶל־נֹאסֵי הַחַיִּים
 18 (א) שִׁמּוֹר־נָא לְבַבְכֶם מִן־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּמוֹעֵלָה^{pp} (א) יהוה
 19 (ב) וְהִתְאַנָּה וְהִדְמִיךְ וַעֲץ הַחַיִּים (א) מִן־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲבִרְךָ

17 (ח) אֶת־כָּל־מוֹעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיכֶם 18 (pp) מִיּוֹם עֲשָׂרִים וָאַרְבָּעָה לְתַשְׁעֵי

ה

1 2, 3, 4 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה חֲזִקִּי^h חֲזִקִּי^h הַשְׁמָעִים^y הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה:
 10 כִּי־שָׁכַר הָאָדָם לֹא־נָהִיָּה וְשָׁכַר הִבְהֵמָה אִינָנוּ
 11 וְלִיּוֹצֵא וּלְבָא אִין־שְׁלוֹם וְאֶשְׁלַח אִישׁ בִּרְעָהוּ:
 12 וְעַתָּה הִצָּרַע^h שְׁלוֹם וְהַשְׁמִים יִתְּנוּ טָלֵם:
 13 הַגֶּפֶן תִּתֵּן פְּרִיָּה וְהָאָרֶץ תִּתֵּן יִבּוּלָהּ:
 14 הַיִּיתָה קִלְקָה בְּנוֹיִם וְהַיִּיתָם בִּרְכָּה אֶל־תִּירָאוּ:
 15 הִנֵּה־אֵל קָנָא אֲנֹכִי וְעָשִׂה חֶסֶד לְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתַי:
 16 זָמַמְתִּי לַהֲרֹעַ לָכֶם בַּהֲקִצִּיךְ אֲבֹתֵיכֶם אֶתִּי:
 17 שָׁבַתִּי זָמַמְתִּי לַהֲטִיב אֶת־בֵּית יְהוּדָה אֶל־תִּירָאוּ:
 18 דְּבָרוּ אִישׁ אֶת־רַעְיוֹנוֹ שְׁלוֹם אֶתָּה שְׁפָטוּ בְּשַׁעְרֵיכֶם:
 19 וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רַעְיוֹנוֹ אֶל־תַּחֲשֹׁבוּ בְּלִבְכֶם:
 20 וּשְׁבַעַת שָׁקָר אֶל־תֹּאחֲבוּ כִּי־אֶת־כָּל אֱלֹהִים שִׁנְאֵתִי^x

בעשרים וארבעה להשיעי בשנת שמיים לדריש היה

210

דבר יהוה אל הגי הנביא לאמר: כה אמר יהוה צבאות שאל-נא

11

את-הכהנים תורה לאמר:

ואס-ישא איש בשר-קדש בלבדו

i A 12

ונגע בכנפו אל-לחם ואל-נזיד

ואל-יין ואל-שמן ואל-כל מאכל

הקדוש יקדשו ויאמרו לא:

אם-יגע ממא-נפש בכל-אלה היטמאו

13

ויענו הכהנים ויאמרו יטמאו:

וכן-הגוי הזה לפני

14

וכן-כל מעשה ידיהם ואשר יקדיבו-שם ממא-הוא:

ועתה שימו-נא לבבכם מן-היום הזה ומעלה

15

ממדם שום-אבן על-אבן בהיכל ומי-הייתם:

בא אל-ערמת עשרים והנה היתה עשרה

16

בא לחשף חמשים מפורק והיתה עשרים:

למן-היום אשר יסד ההיכל שימו לבבכם

17

העור הזרע בממורה ועד הנפך לא-נשא:

19



ⁱⁱ 4 ועתה חזק ^ג זרבבל
 וכל־עם הארץ נאמ־יהוה צבאות
 חזקו ועשו כי־אני אתכם ^ו
 ורוחי עמדת בתוכם אל־תראו:

ⁱⁱⁱ 6 עוד־אחת מעמ־היא ואני מרעיש
 שמים וארץ וים ונהרבה:
 7 והשמידתי את־הגוים ובאו חמדת^ח:

^{iv} 8 לי־הכסף ולי־הזהב:
 9 גדול יהיה כבוד הבית^ט
 ובמקום הזה אתן שלום:

24(א) נאם יהוה (ב) וחזק יהושע בן־יהוצבק הכהן הגדול (ג) נאם יהוה צבאות

5(ד) את־הדבר אשר־כדתי אתכם בצאתכם ממצרים (ה) כי־כה אמר יהוה צבאות

6(ו) את־ה (ז) את־ה (ח) את־ה (ט) את־ה (י) את־ה (יא) כל־הגוים ונולאתי

את־הבית הזה כבוד אמר יהוה צבאות (א) נאם יהוה צבאות

9(י) הזה האחרון (י) לון הראשון אמר יהוה צבאות (א) נאם יהוה צבאות



ביום עשרים וארבעה לחדש בשנת שנים לדדיוש

1, 15

2, 20 המלך יהיה דבר יהוה אל-חגי לאמר:

אני-מרעיש שמים וארץ והפכתי כסא מולכות

2, 21

והשמדתי כל-חזק הגוים והאבדתי מרכבה ולכביה

ונידתי סוסים ורגלים איש-בחרב אחיו יפל:

ואקחך זרבבל עבדי ושמותיך כחותם בימיני:

2, 22

2, 20 שנת (י) בעשרים וארבעה לחדש (י) אמר אל-זרבבל

פחת-יהודה לאמר (ד) את-יה (ה) את-יה (ז) מולכות

23 (ה) ביום ההוא נאם-יהוה צבאות (ו) בשאלתיאל (ז) נאם יהוה

(ז) כי-בך בחרתי נאם יהוה צבאות:

בשביעי בעשרים ואחד לחדש היה דבר יהוה ביד-חגי

2, 1

הנביא לאמר: אמר-נא אל-זרבבל בן-שלתאל פחת-יהודה ואל-יהושע

2

בן-יהושע הכהן הגדול ואל-כל-שארית העם לאמר:

3 ו מי-בכם הנשאר אשר ראה

את-הבית הזה בכבודו הראשון

ומה אתם ראים-אתו עתה

הלוא כמזה כעין בעיניכם:

וְכָרַתְתֶּם עֵץ 8 עלו החר

וּבְנוּ הַבַּיִת וּבָרָצָהּ בּוֹאֲכֶיכֶם¹²

נִאֲמַיְיָהוּהָ <צְבָאוֹת> 13 אֲנִי אֲחַכֶּם

וַיִּשְׁמַע זָרְבָבֶל בֶּן־שִׁלְתַּיָּאל <פַּחַת־יְהוּדָה> וַיְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן־ 12

יְהוֹצָדָק הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל וְכָל־שְׂאֵרֵי הָעָם בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיֵּרָאוּ¹⁴

הָעָם מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה : וַיֹּעַר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ זָרְבָבֶל בֶּן־שִׁלְתַּיָּאל פַּחַת־יְהוּדָה

וְאֶת־רוּחַ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן־יְהוֹצָדָק הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל וְאֶת־רוּחַ כָּל־שְׂאֵרֵי

הָעָם וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ מִלְאכָה בְּבֵית־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵיהֶם :

(א) 1,2 צבאות לאמר (8) 3 ויהי דברי יהוה ביד חגי הנביא לאמר (ק) 4 בתיכם

(ד) 4 והבית הזה חרב

(ע) 5 ועתה כה אמר יהוה צבאות

שימו לבבכם על דרכיכם :

זרעתם הרבה והבא מועט

אכול ואין לשבע¹⁵ ולבוש ואין לקחם לך

והשתכרו¹⁶ אל צדור נקוב :

(5) 7 כה אמר יהוה צבאות (י) 10 והארץ כמלאה יבולה (ט) עליכם (ז) ה' (א) עליה

(י) 11 ועליה יפחד ועל אשר תוציא האדמה ועליה אדם ועל בהמה ועל כל יביע כמים :

(א) 8 אמר יהוה (ז) 13 ויאמר חגי מלאך יהוה במלאכות יהוה לעם ראמר

(5) 12 ואל דברי חגי הנביא באשר שלח יהוה אלהיהם

(חח) משה כר

(ס) 6 שתו ואין לשכרה

חגי*

א

1 בשנת שתים לדדיוש המלך בחדש השני ביום

אחד לחדש היה דבריהוה ביד חגי הנביא לאמר אמר נא

אלה הדברים בקדשתי אל פה יחידה ואלה שעבדו העבודה

הבהו הגדול לאמר:

i 2 כה אמר יהוה^α העם יהוה אמרו

לא עת בא עת בית יהוה להבנות:

ii 4 העת לכם אתם לשבת בספונים^δ:

iii 7 שימו לבבכם על דרכיכם:

7 פנה אל הרבה והנה למעט

והבאתם ביתה^{1 4 3 2} ונפחתי בו¹

iii יען מה נאם יהוה צבאות

יען ביתי אשר הוא חרב

ואתם רצים איש לביתו:

iv על כן כלאו שמים מלם:

v ואקרא חרב על ארץ והרים

ועלי הדבן ועלי התירוש^α

* Text as restored in the Old Testament Seminary of -

Vita.

The writer was born on January 25, 1885, in Altoona, Penna., and attended the public schools of that city until 1905 when he entered Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Penna. After receiving the degree of A.B. from that institution in 1909, he spent three years at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Penna. The illness and death of his father in 1912 made it necessary for him to spend the following year in business pursuits and during part of his year, he taught in the Altoona High School. In 1913 he entered the Oriental Seminary at Johns Hopkins University and since that time has been pursuing post-graduate studies under Prof. Haupt and Mrs. Ember, Blake and Koceman, to all of whom, and to Prof. Haupt in particular, he wishes to express his appreciation of instruction given in the preparation of this paper.





